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France Strives To Rescue Reform From Labor Unrest

Rail Workers Reject Government Overture As Walkouts Escalate

By William Drozdiak
Washington Post Service

PARIS — Faced with the worst bout of labor unrest in nearly a decade, Prime Minister Alain Juppé struggled Tuesday to salvage his ambitious plan to overhaul France's welfare system amid signs that the escalating strikes are inflicting serious damage to the world's fourth-biggest economy.

For the fifth day in a row, the country's public transport network was paralyzed as bus, train and Métro services were canceled by striking rail unions. Work in many other sectors was disrupted as employees were stranded at home or stuck in traffic jams 30 kilometers (20 miles) long.

[French rail workers said Tuesday night that they had decided to continue their strike, Reuters reported. "The strike continues tomorrow," a union delegate said after nearly five hours of talks with officials of the state railroad company SNCF. Strikes were also expected to halt virtually all service on the Paris-area Métro and the city's buses.

[Transportation Minister Bernard Pons had indicated some flexibility on a five-year plan to restore the heavily indebted railroad. But he left the door open to changes in the railroad workers' retirement plan, which the labor unions see as a central issue in the dispute.]

The government insists it cannot afford to back down or else one of Europe's most generous social security systems would soon be driven into bankruptcy. The austere plan is intended to rein in public deficits within the next two years so that France can satisfy the criteria established for a single European currency. But ever since Mr. Juppé unveiled his package of reforms two weeks ago, angry rumblings in the streets have grown louder. Besides the chaos in public transport, France's five million civil servants have twice gone on strike to protest sacrifices in their pension program.

Students also have been staging protests

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A Revolution for Japan: The Boss May Be Younger

By Sandra Sugawara
Washington Post Service

TOKYO — In a land where the age of employees often determines the phrases used to address them, the depth of the bow they receive and who their friends are, the seeds of a workplace revolution are being sown by men such as Yoshiyuki Shinohara.

Mr. Shinohara, the 52-year-old director of the Fine Chemical Department at Mitsui Petrochemical Industries, is doing something radical for a manager here. He is supervising people older than himself, and in doing so is helping shatter a social order that has for decades been touted as the heart of Japan Inc.'s economic success.

For decades, companies have taken fresh college graduates and molded them into loyal company men. The pay at Japanese companies was designed so that incomes would increase as personal responsibilities — children and their housing and education — increased. Employees from the same age group received raises and promotions together, with the lockstep precision of the military.

Employees identified themselves by the year they joined the company, as in, "Hi, I'm Suzuki, class of 1967." They would know by that greeting whether they were talking to a senior manager or someone junior to them. Typically offices were designed without partitions and with desks close together. Underlying all this was the goal of improving group, not individual, performance.

Now as Japan struggles to overcome a prolonged economic slump and a high yen, corporations have begun the delicate process of tearing down the old order.

"The majority of Japanese companies intend to move to a new system," said Shigeru Tanaka, a consultant in Tokyo with Hay Management Consultants.

Each week brings new announcements from Japanese companies about plans for



The first civilian flight into Sarajevo in nearly four years taxiing on the runway Tuesday as Turkish officials arrived for reconstruction talks with Bosnians.

For NATO Forces in Bosnia, Big and Varied Risks

By John Pomfret
Washington Post Service

BUDAPEST — A NATO force of up to 60,000 soldiers will face enormous risks in Bosnia as it seeks to carry out the peace deal reached over 22 days of negotiations in Dayton, Ohio, according to Western officials and experts on the Balkans.

Enemies as banal as the brutal winter weather and as mysterious as a cabal of Balkan businessmen could conspire to turn the U.S.-led initiative into a morass, the officials and military officers said. Casualties are inevitable, they noted, pointing out that in the three and a half years since the United Nations deployed troops in the former Yugoslavia, 214 UN soldiers have

been killed and 1,451 have been wounded. Many of the wounded have been maimed by mines. General Dennis Reimer, the U.S. Army's chief of staff, estimated

NEWS ANALYSIS

recently that 6 million mines had been planted in Bosnia — many of them in uncharted fields that are now covered by snow. Most of those fields lie in the two-and-a-half-mile-wide (four-and-a-half-kilometer-wide) "zone of separation" between the warring factions, where U.S. and other foreign troops are to be deployed.

"While the UN job was difficult, they avoided trouble, often didn't shoot back and generally tried to keep a low profile,"

a Western military officer said. "NATO's work will be a lot harder because it will be viewed by some as an aggressor. I expect there will be a lot of angry men gunning for us and hoping to spill blood."

UN officials and Western officers said the most serious threat to NATO peacekeepers will occur during the surrender of territory as negotiated in the Dayton agreement.

Under that plan, the Muslim-Croatian federation will have to give back 15½ square miles of land in northwestern Bosnia that was captured in a September offensive against the Serbs. Already, Croatian gunmen are reportedly burning Mrkonjgrad and Sipoval, the towns scheduled to be returned. The fate of the

key facility in this territory — the Bocac hydroelectric power plant, which will revert to the Serbs so that they can light their biggest city, Banja Luka — is unknown.

NATO officials so far have not said what they will do if this type of destruction occurs while they are deployed in Bosnia to supervise the implementation of the plan.

For their part, the Bosnian Serbs will have to pull out of parts of Sarajevo that they control, specifically the suburbs of Ilidza, Ilidza, Grbavica and Vogosca.

The Bosnian Serbs contend that about 120,000 Serbs live in the parts of Sarajevo that are to be handed over to Muslim-Croatian control. Protests erupted on the

See BALKANS, Page 6

AGENDA

British and Irish End IRA Impasse

LONDON (AP) — Britain and Ireland achieved a breakthrough Tuesday on Northern Ireland, announcing they had reached a formula to overcome the long-standing deadlock on IRA weaponry.

Hours before President Bill Clinton was due to arrive, Prime Minister John Major of Ireland and his deputy, Dick Spring, flew here for a surprise meeting with Prime Minister John Major.

Mr. Major's office said agreement had been reached on the "twin track" approach — negotiations paralleled by an international commission that would take up the weapons issue.

The meeting was set after more than 24 hours of intense diplomatic activity in London and Dublin.

The issue that brought peacemaking efforts to a standstill is whether the Irish Republican Army must start to disarm before its allied Sinn Féin party can join negotiations with other parties in Northern Ireland.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average rose 7.22 points to 5,078.10. The Trib Index rose 0.49% to 128.41.

The Dollar rose 1.4333 to 1.4375. The Pound rose 1.543 to 1.5525. The Yen rose 101.20 to 101.73. The FF rose 4.9135 to 4.9225.



MASSACRE REMEMBERED — South Korean radicals amid tear gas fumes Tuesday as they tried to attack the Seoul house of ex-President Chun Doo Hwan, who could face trial for the 1980 Kwangju massacre. Page 4.

U.S. Asks Syria to Help Stop Attacks on Israel

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — The United States pressed Syria on Tuesday to use its influence to halt Hezbollah rocket attacks against Israel and sought to capitalize on new peace signs by saying it will send a senior official, Dennis Ross, back to the region next week.

He will press the countries to resume the process, an official said, citing comments by Israeli and Syrian foreign ministers about "their intention to advance" talks.

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On Galápagos, the Battle Lines for Survival Harden

By Diana Jean Schemo
New York Times Service

PUERTO AYORA, Galápagos Islands — The common theme in these far-off islands, where Charles Darwin studied nature and changed human understanding, drew competition for survival in terms sharper than most tourists cared to see.

Led by a fiery politician, hundreds of fishermen, teachers, bus drivers and laborers shut down an airport, while others converged at the National Park Service, threatening to burn buildings and take visitors hostage. Radio broadcasts urged looting and arson, while ordinary people vowed to become guerrilla fighters. Visitors fled a vacation paradise turned war theater.

Nobody was injured during the 15-day strike in the Galápagos in September, and now the protesters dismiss their own threats as saber-rattling to gain the attention of the Ecuadorian government, which they say cares more about reptiles than people.

The clash drew battle lines in a conflict that has been simmering for years, between a population swollen with migrants from Ecuador's mainland, whose expectations

have grown with their numbers, and conservationists, including some residents, who feel business must bow to ecology.

"Now we see a real polarization among the people here," said Pablo Larrea, Ecuador's representative in the Galápagos. "People here believe that if you talk about conservation, you don't want people to have jobs."

More than 50,000 tourists flock to this smattering of islands each year, on the lookout for such evolutionary wonders as blue-footed boobies, marine iguanas and the 39 kinds of finches whose highly differentiated beaks inspired Darwin to write "Origin of Species."

The islands are cherished by naturalists as a wellspring of endemic species, with 95 percent of the reptiles, 75 percent of the insects, half of the birds and nearly a fifth of the fish appearing nowhere else.

But scientists worry that the rapid growth in the human population, from 2,500 15 years ago to 15,000 now, has taxed the delicate ecological balance. With people have come aggressive plant and animal species, including chickens, rats and goats, that are multiplying rapidly, along with the overfishing of lobster, shark and sea cucumbers by local fishermen and large industrial fisheries. The influx of

newcomers, most of them lured by the possibility of living off nature through tourism or fishing, has also hardened the debate over the future of the islands' resources.

"Everyone wants a piece of the pie, but they have no idea what went into making the pie," said Jack Nelson, who came here from California about 30 years ago and who owns the Galápagos Hotel. Mr. Nelson and others say that those clamoring for change have brought a frontier mentality to the islands that, unchecked, would destroy the place as a wildlife sanctuary.

The immediate spark for the uprising in September was a presidential veto of a special law for the islands. Its 70 articles would have concentrated money and power over the islands in the hands of the people who live here. About 97 percent of the Galápagos is a national park, with about 70,000 square kilometers (27,000 square miles) of the surrounding ocean belonging to a special marine reserve.

For now, many decisions that affect the island are made by the Park Service, and the law would have subjected the park director to a board weighted with locally elected politicians and representatives of fishermen and tourist-related businesses.

Clinton Gets Cautious Support on Bosnia Plan

Republicans Are Silent After President Makes Case for Sending GIs

By Brian Knowlton
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Crucial Republican voices in Congress withheld their fire Tuesday on the plan to send American troops to Bosnia, apparently in a sign that President Bill Clinton's appeal for public support had achieved its initial goal.

Mr. Clinton pressed his offensive Tuesday, discussing the Bosnia plan with leaders of Congress before leaving on a five-day European tour.

Overall, reaction in both Congress and among the public to the president's speech on Monday night was mixed. But the response from some regular critics was muted or supportive of Mr. Clinton's plan.

The president told a national television audience that without American troops to help enforce the U.S.-brokered peace agreement, "the slaughter of innocents will begin again."

"In the choice between peace and war," he said, "America must choose peace."

The speech was viewed as perhaps Mr. Clinton's most important on a foreign policy issue, one in which he has heavily invested both America's credibility and his own political future.

The president sought to persuade skeptical Americans that there was a national interest, an international responsibility and a humanitarian duty to help enforce the fragile Bosnian peace accord initiated in Dayton, Ohio, last week.

Seeking to reassure them as well, he said that the 20,000 U.S. troops to be sent would have the firepower and the authority both to enforce the peace and to protect themselves while carrying out a mission of clear scope and limited duration.

While many Republicans have opposed the sending of U.S. troops to Bosnia, the immediate response to the president's speech was reserved.

"I want to support the president if I can," Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the majority leader, said Tuesday, calling the speech a "good start."

He added two provisos, saying he planned to question Mr. Clinton about an "exit strategy" for U.S. troops and wanted to know what would be done to allow Bosnian Muslims defend to themselves once the Americans were gone.

The House speaker, Newt Gingrich of Georgia, was also unusually reserved. Like Mr. Dole, Mr. Gingrich chose not to make a formal televised response to the speech, saying that the burden was on Mr. Clinton to persuade uncertain Americans.

The administration went to work immediately to do so.

Just after his speech Monday, the president telephoned former President George Bush and retired General Colin L. Powell, a former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to discuss the Bosnia plan. Said Michael McCurry, the White House spokesman, He declined to say whether either endorsed Mr. Clinton's Bosnia policy.

Appearances before congressional com-

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Tobacco Firms Set Sights on EU Regulators

By Nathaniel C. Nash
New York Times Service

BRUSSELS — Travel in an airplane, eat in a restaurant, go to a bar or a sporting event, and it's unmistakable. Europeans still like to smoke.

Almost 100 million people on the Continent and in Britain spend \$90 billion a year lighting up. Unlike the United States, where anti-smoking fever has made it unfashionable to smoke, Europe has far fewer restrictions — public or private — on smoking.

Still, there are many attempts each year to regulate smoking in Europe, either by central or regional governments. And as in the United States, big tobacco interests fight these efforts aggressively.

They are led by Philip Morris Europe, a unit of the American tobacco giant. For the second time in seven months, the company has begun its own European blitz, buying full-page ads complaining about the threat to smokers from what it sees as excessive regulation.

While company officials in Europe say their campaign is aimed at the many attempts by governments to regulate smoking, the primary target seems to be the headquarters of the European Union here in Brussels.

In May, Philip Morris ads in publications like The Financial Times, The Economist and the International Herald

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The Fatherland First / Opulent Palaces Amid Grinding Poverty

Turkmen Fall Under the Sway of Personality Cult

By Alessandra Stanley
New York Times Service

ASHKABAD, Turkmenistan — High-stepping soldiers and twirling children in native costume marched in tight formation past the balcony of their leader, chanting his name and brandishing his portrait.

In a national day parade five years ago, they would have held up Lenin's image. Now, it is the plump, somber face of Turkmenistan's president, Saparmurat A. Niyazov, who has restyled himself Turkmenbashi, or "leader of the Turkmen." His portrait graces every parade float, hotel, office building and park pedestal in the country.

Only four years after claiming independence from Moscow, this Central Asian republic rich in oil and natural gas is under the powerful sway of a new kind of personality cult, one that blends the classic Communist model of Lenin and Mao with the opulent grandeur of the medieval caliphs.

As planes begin their descent to the modern airport named after him, flight attendants recite the pledge of allegiance: "Let my tongue fall out if I betray my fatherland."

The "Sayings of Turkmenbashi" are memorized in every school and university. Government officials wear tiny gold pins of his profile in their lapels and sometimes kiss his jeweled hand.

At the recent unveiling of a French-built \$100-million mosque, named Turkmenbashi, President Niyazov was presented with a giant carpet with his face woven large into the foreground of the holy site.

In an interview, Mr. Niyazov said he felt that the personality cult had gone too far. "I admit it, there are too many portraits, pictures, and monuments," he said. "I don't find any pleasure in it, but the people demand it because of their mentality."

Turkmenistan, a desert country of 4.2 million people, holds the world's fourth-largest reserves of natural gas. Its oil reserves, mostly untapped, are vast. For 800 years, it was a land of nomadic horsemen and their camels; now it is a modern state of grandiose new government buildings and grating poverty on the streets below.

And all of it is controlled by Mr. Niyazov, 55, who was the Communist Party leader in the Soviet era and who moved swiftly to retain the reins of power when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991.

It was then that Mr. Niyazov began his spending spree. He now has several presidential palaces spread across the republic and two lavish estates on the edges of the capital: a white palace built by a Turkish company soon after independence, and a newer, sprawling, pink Italian-built mansion.

French architects are now designing for him a vast \$100-million gold-domed, white marble presidential palace in the center of town.

Mr. Niyazov said that his many palaces were imposed on him from below. "All I wanted was a small, cozy house," he said, but Parliament overruled him.

So far, the republic's expectations of fantastic wealth have not materialized. Russia still controls Turkmenistan's pipelines and since 1993 has diverted gas to other former Soviet republics like Ukraine and Georgia, which cannot afford to pay hard currency and owe Turk-



The image of Turkmenistan's president, Saparmurat A. Niyazov, watching over participants in a celebration in Ashkhabad.

menistan about \$1.3 billion. Turkmenistan, like its oil-producing neighbors, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan, is seeking other routes, and has signed pipeline construction agreements with Iran and Pakistan. But revenues from those are years, if not decades, off.

Russian language and culture, imposed on the tribes of Turkmenistan since their conquest in 1881, have all but evaporated. But the Soviet mentality still rules the Turkmen style of governance.

It is a state-controlled economy. Mr. Niyazov says he will move his country toward a free market and democracy. "Only slowly," he said. "Our society is not yet mature enough for a civilized multiparty system," he said. "There are no people psychologically or financially prepared to become owners of big factories."

He is unimpressed by Western models. "We shall conduct reforms, but not by copying what you have in America, all that sexual stuff," he said. "If I allowed all those sexual shows on TV or the newspapers, the people would shoot me."

The United States has kept Turkmenistan and its neighbor, Uzbekistan, at arm's length, concerned about their human rights abuses and changeable business climates. President Bill Clinton refused to meet with Mr. Niyazov when he went to the United States in 1993. Exxon and Unocal recently signed ambitious pipeline construction agreements with Turkmenistan, but aside from those far-off projects, there has been little U.S. or European investment.

It was in the expectation of hordes of Western businessmen that Mr. Niyazov ordered the creation of Berzengi, a gleaming new hotel and business center outside Ashkhabad. In the middle of a harsh desert, 22 five-star hotels lie in a shimmering row, most of them empty.



Everything is imported, from Pierre Cardin bathroom tiles to porcini mushrooms.

Meanwhile, the vast majority of Turkmen live in poverty. As inflation climbs and gas revenues fall, living conditions are worsening. At his meeting with tribal elders, Mr. Niyazov affirmed: "Anyone who complains about going without sausage or bread for a day is not a Turkmen."

But even in this tightly controlled police state with one-party rule and press censorship, whispered grumbling can be heard. Though the government provides free electricity, water and gas, there are long bread lines in the cities and salaries are low and paid late. There are shortages of flour, water and cooking oil in the villages.

"Life has always been hard in the desert, but it has gotten harder," said Makzat, 2, a

melon farmer in a desert village 160 kilometers (100 miles) from the capital.

Turkmenistan is one of the region's top cotton producers, but cottonseed oil cannot be found on the bare shelves of state-run stores.

When asked about the president whose portrait was on the wall of the two-room hut he shares with his parents and six brothers and sisters, Makzat started to reply. His father silenced him sharply. "It is wiser not to speak," he said.

But some dissent has become more open. Last July, several hundred demonstrators marched down Ashkhabad's main avenue, handing out leaflets protesting food shortages. The leaders were arrested. Mr. Niyazov said they were drug addicts who had lured students to the rally with vodka and marijuana.

"We have no political prisoners in this country," he said.

Turkmen once looked smugly at Russia and other former Soviet republics, where democracy and free markets appeared to spawn mainly ethnic unrest and crime. Turkmenistan's economic and political stability, many said, was worth the absence of freedom. Those sentiments appear to be waning.

"I'm interested in politics," said a 23-year-old high school physics teacher who gave his name only as Bahar. "But here we have no free expression. People talk about their problems among themselves, but that's as far as it goes. It's too dangerous to say more."

COMING UP

Despite efforts at reform, the police in South Africa remain a largely ineffectual institution, looked on by many as corrupt and undertrained. The consequences for the level and nature of crime are grim.

Re-entry Hazard
Feared for Satellite
Errant Chinese SpacecraftBy William J. Broad
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — A derelict Chinese spy satellite weighing more than two tons is getting ready to plunge back to Earth, which could create a hazard for people on the ground or an intelligence bonanza for any foreign country that can recover its film and cameras.

U.S. experts and industry reports say the satellite might re-enter the atmosphere in March or April.

Most satellites burn up quickly during re-entry. But this one is said to be heavily shielded and designed to survive the fiery plunge to Earth.

Most likely, the satellite will hit the sea in a harmless splash and sink out of sight. Even so, world governments are gearing up for a possible impact on land, which, if it occurs in a heavily populated area, might kill people, embarrass China and prompt an international incident.

The spy satellite, about the size of a small car, is believed to have no nuclear power source on board, so the danger arises only from its speed and weight, which could have the effect of a small bomb exploding.

The craft's impending plunge is reported in the current issue of Aviation Week & Space Technology. It says the satellite, of a type known as FSW-1, was launched in October 1993. After finishing its surveillance mission and after its fiery return, the craft is meant to deploy a parachute for a soft landing on the ground and be picked up by the Chinese army.

But the satellite malfunctioned 10 days after launching, the magazine reports, and is losing altitude.

Aviation Week & Space Technology says space analysts expect the errant satellite to simply plunge back as an inert lump. But they also say there is a slight chance that the spacecraft's recovery system might still function, leading to the possibility of a bizarre situation in which the secret spy craft would come sailing down with its parachute open into a place like Central Park or the Champs Elysées.

The satellite has an orbit inclined 56.5 degrees to the Equator, meaning it could fall onto any part of the Earth between 56.5 degrees north latitude and 56.5 degrees south latitude — a swath that includes most of the Earth's major cities and all of the continental United States.

Major Don Planalp of the air force, a spokesman for the U.S. Space Command in Colorado Springs, said in an interview that 11 sensors, including ground-based radar, were tracking the satellite closely and that its re-entry date was estimated as April 1.

Aviation Week & Space Technology said that American and European analysts predicted that the impact could come in February or March.

Repeated calls to officials at the Chinese Embassy in Washington produced no comment about the satellite, its capabilities or its predicted date of re-entry.

In the past, Chinese officials have spoken of the FSW-1 series of satellites as intended strictly for natural resources monitoring. But Western experts widely regard them as spy satellites with military aims.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Paris Transport to Be Crippled Again

PARIS (AFP) — The militant transport workers who paralyzed much of France on Tuesday in the second nationwide strike in less than a week said they planned to do the same Wednesday.

Rail workers, who have been on strike since Thursday night, spearheaded the movement, but the capital's Metro drivers voted to stay out for another day Wednesday and perhaps longer, after crippling the mass transit system Tuesday. The few Metro trains running were packed tightly with commuters. Public transport in many provincial cities was also severely disrupted.

Members of five trade unions voted to continue the movement in the Metro, regional RER lines and on the buses, an official of the Communist-led CGT trade union said, with the possibility it will go on past Wednesday. Mammouth traffic jams built up outside Paris and in the provinces as nonstriking tried to get to work by car. The RATP, which runs the Paris Metro system, said it feared there would be a total stoppage of Métros and buses by Tuesday evening. Cross-Channel ferries were blocked in the port of Calais, and British ferries working the route were diverted to the Belgian port of Zeebrugge.

Stockholm to Assess Driving Fee

STOCKHOLM (AP) — The city council decided Tuesday to introduce a fee for driving in Stockholm to finance a network of highways around the city and lessen pollution.

The Social Democratic-led council voted, 68 to 23, to start charging drivers 25 kronor (\$3.85) by 1999 for every ride into town, national radio reported.

Life on Saudi Arabia's most exclusive shopping street has returned to normal for the first time since a powerful bomb killed seven people there two weeks ago, residents said. Al-Thalathin street is where a car bomb blasted a National Guard training center run by the United States on Nov. 13. "Traffic was back to normal on both directions in the street for the first time this morning and people are going around for business as usual," a resident said. The street, in Riyadh's fashionable Olaiya area, was closed after the bombing, which killed five Americans and two Indians and wounded 60 people.

Dutch police plan a campaign of rolling strikes Thursday to press for higher pay and better conditions, a spokesman said. Police in various parts of the Netherlands will take turns striking from 8 A.M. to 6 P.M. Only emergency cover will be available, and no fines will be issued for minor offenses.

Hundreds of passengers were stranded in Johannesburg on Monday night after South African Airways cabin crews staged a wildcat strike, an airline official said Tuesday.

Northern Israel Pounded by Hezbollah Rockets

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

KIRYAT SHIMONA, Israel — Hezbollah guerrillas rained a barrage of Katyusha rockets on northern Israel on Tuesday, wounding eight people and causing heavy damage in the most serious attack in six months.

Israelis in this section of the country sandwiched between Lebanon and the Golan Heights fled to underground shelters as the rockets pounded the region.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres visited the border area and inspected one of several heavily damaged apartment buildings.

Hezbollah, which is backed

by Syria and seeks to oust Israel from its zone of occupation in southern Lebanon, claimed responsibility for the attack.

"The wide Israeli persistence to practice aggression and terrorism" made the attack necessary, Hezbollah said in a statement in Beirut.

Hezbollah follows a policy of attacking northern Israel whenever Israeli shelling hits civilian villages in the south. Hezbollah said earlier that three of its guerrillas were killed in "confrontations" with Israeli forces in southern Lebanon on Sunday.

The attack drew a warning from Israel's army chief, Lieutenant-General Amnon Shahak,

that the last active war front between Israel and its Arab neighbors could heat up.

"Hezbollah is endangering the well-being of many thousands of residents of south Lebanon," he said. "I think the Lebanese government also should be very troubled over what Hezbollah is doing within Lebanese territory."

Asked in Jerusalem what action Israel might take — its last big incursion into Lebanon was in 1993 — General Shahak said, "The situation requires us to think and to decide and that's exactly what we're doing now."

Minutes after General Sha-

hak spoke, security officials in Lebanon said Israeli jets blasted suspected guerrilla hideouts. Israeli Radio said Katyusha launchers in southern Lebanon were hit.

The attack by Hezbollah began in the morning as Israeli parents were taking their children to school. At least nine salvos of Katyusha rockets landed inside northern Israel, causing serious damage to houses and other buildings, military officials said. Doctors said eight people were slightly hurt.

The last major attack was in June, when a French cook at a Club Med resort was killed.

Rabin Assassination

Israel's police chief said Tuesday that suspects in the killing of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin had sought but apparently failed to win rabbi's blessings to carry out an assassination. Reuters reported from Jerusalem.

"They discussed it, talked about it, but so far as I know the rabbis warned them not to carry out this judgment," Chief of Police Assaf Hefetz said on Israel Radio.

Nine religious Jews in their 20s, including the confessed gunman, Yigal Amir, have been arrested in connection with the assassination in Tel Aviv on Nov. 4.

(AFP, Reuters)

Israel Cool
To Syria at
Conference

Agence France-Presse

JERUSALEM — Israel on Tuesday played down the first face-to-face encounter with a Syrian minister in four years, saying there had been no basic change in the two sides' positions when they met at the Barcelona conference of European and Mediterranean nations.

"There has perhaps been some difference in tone, but fundamentally it is difficult to see a real change," said Yossi Beilin, a minister in charge of helping to steer the peace negotiations.

But in an unusual step, Israel moved swiftly to clear Syria of responsibility for recent rocket attacks on northern Israel. Foreign Minister Ehud Barak said in Barcelona: "These bombardments are very serious, but I don't believe they are a response by Syria to our peace proposals."

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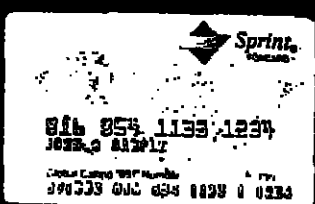
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THE AMERICAS

Protests Mount Over Movie and Subway Arson, as Dole Joins the Chorus

By Robert D. McFadden
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Columbia Pictures, the maker of the hit movie "Money Train," has said it is "appalled and dismayed" by the subway firebombing that critically turned a subway clerk in New York over the weekend.

But the company declined to comment on a rising chorus of charges in Washington and New York that the film had inspired the attack.

The Senate majority leader, Bob Dole, urged Americans on Monday

to boycott the movie, which contains two scenes in which a pyromaniac squirts flammable liquid into subway booths and ignites it, although the clerks inside escape injury. The film opened last Wednesday and made \$15 million in its first five days.

"The American people have a right to voice their outrage," Mr. Dole, a Kansas Republican, said in a Senate speech, "and they can do so not through calls for government censorship, but by derailing 'Money Train' at the box office."

As the New York victim, Henry

Kaufman, 50, lay near death and jitters infected transit riders and clerks alike, the police assigned extra patrols at subway stations across Brooklyn. They also intensified a manhunt for two arsonists who turned the booth in the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood into an inferno early Sunday with a bottle of flammable liquid and a match. From the booths, clerks sell tokens required to pass through the subway turnstiles.

Meanwhile, the crime — with its cinematic images of depraved thugs and a flaming human running into

the night — began to take on wider political and artistic implications as Senator Dole pointed his finger at Hollywood, and Columbia Pictures, City Hall, the Transit Authority and the Transport Workers Union joined a growing debate over responsibility for what happened.

Columbia Pictures and the Transit Authority gave different versions of the extent of the authority's cooperation in making the movie — some shots were filmed in the subway — and Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, sounding defensive about film making that brings revenue and recog-

nition to New York, said the city "should not be reading the script of every movie and acting as a censor."

Mr. Dole, who is running for president and has often castigated Hollywood for what he calls its glorification of violence, cited the attack and its "remarkable" similarities to the movie "Money Train" in his Senate speech, noting that Police Commissioner William J. Bratton and the Transit Authority president, Alan F. Kiepper, had cited a possible connection.

And while Mr. Dole said there

was no way yet to know if the attackers were copying the movie and that there was no excuse for their behavior, anyway, he declared:

"Those who work in Hollywood's corporate suites must also be willing to accept their share of the blame. For those in the entertainment industry who too often engage in a pornography of violence as a way to sell movie tickets, it is time for some serious soul-searching."

The movie's maker issued only a brief formal statement about the case on Monday. "Columbia Pictures," it said, "is appalled and dismayed by

this incident, which is an isolated act of senseless violence and should be condemned, as it is unequivocally by the producers and director of this film and the employees of this studio."

The studio declined to comment on allegations that the assailants might have copied the movie or on statements by Mr. Dole and other officials. But a top Columbia executive, who spoke on the condition that he not be identified, called the senator's attack a "disgraceful" attempt to exploit the case for political purposes.

Separatists Scorn
New Chrétien Offer
A Red Flag in Unity WarBy Charles Trueheart
Washington Post Service

TORONTO — No sooner had he unveiled the latest plan to meet demands for Quebec's autonomy when Prime Minister Jean Chrétien of Canada heard a familiar two-part re-

NEWS ANALYSIS

frain, an echo of every recent effort to placate Canada's French quarter: Quebec says the deal doesn't go nearly far enough, and the rest of Canada says it goes way too far.

"It's just words on paper. It means nothing," said Louise Beaudoin, an influential cabinet member in Quebec's provincial government.

"It's an offensive view of the country," said Mike Harcourt, the premier of British Columbia.

Mr. Chrétien announced Tuesday that he was "delivering the goods" on promises he made in an effort to beat back separatist forces in the Quebec referendum campaign last month.

The virtual tie in the Oct. 30 vote, when only 50.6 percent of Quebecers chose the status quo, badly shook Canada and the prime minister's two-year-old government.

Mr. Chrétien's hastily improvised plan has three dissimilar components, none requiring the constitutional changes upon which other such Quebec-driven formulas have foundered.

It would accord Quebec legislative status as a "distinct society within Canada," recognizing its culture, language and civil law tradition. It would grant an effective veto over constitutional changes to Quebec — and to Ontario and to newly conceived "regions" of Atlantic Canada and Western Canada. And it would shift the administration of manpower-training programs from the central government to the provinces.

Within hours of the prime minister's news conference in Ottawa, his plan was being picked apart by Canada's legions of battle-scarred veterans of unity wars. Once again, the air rang with references to "Meech Lake" and "Charlottetown," the two most recent constitutional reforms — both catastrophic failures — that tried to fit the Quebec peg into the Canadian whole. The whither-Canada merry-go-round groaned to life again.

Parti Québécois leaders who run Quebec province scorned the weak brew of the prime minister's plan.

They dismissed the "distinct society" provision as purely symbolic, pointing to a weekend poll that indicated most Quebecers understood the term to mean a real shift of power, and considered it virtually meaningless unless it is enshrined in the Canadian constitution.

Mr. Chrétien's guarantee of a constitutional right of refusal to the two largest provinces and

the other two regions, though modest, is the only innovation in the proposal, but it may be too far outside the box of acceptable Canadian debate.

It attempts to find a middle way between the view of Quebec nationalists, who see Canada as the creation of two English and French "founding nations," and that of most Canadians elsewhere, who see Canada as a collectivity of 10

equal provinces. In the robust and populous provinces of Alberta and British Columbia, which could probably stand alone as small countries, the idea of being lumped together with two other prairie provinces in a mere "region" is unacceptable.

In Quebec City, a senior adviser to the provincial government was openly scornful of the notion that Mr. Chrétien

would "lend" the federal veto to Quebec.

"They stole our veto in 1981, now they want to lend it to us? What's the interest on the loan?" said Jean-François Lisée, referring to Canada's adoption of a new constitution over Quebec's objections.

Such are the seemingly irreconcilable differences facing anyone trying to keep Canada sewn together: Quebec, with

its French-speaking majority and legacy of domination by English Canadians, is unlikely ever to see itself as no different from, say, Prince Edward Island, a province of 130,000 people.

Canadians outside Quebec, for their part, are not likely to accept the idea of a special class of Canadians, or of one province with privileged status in the confederation.



Prime Minister Jean Chrétien presenting his proposed concessions on Quebec's status to the House of Commons.

Away From
Politics

• The California attorney general's office is investigating whether the former Los Angeles police detective Mark Fuhrman committed perjury during the O. J. Simpson murder trial. During the trial, Mr. Fuhrman was asked if he had ever used the word "nigger" during the previous decade. He denied having done so. But transcripts of taped conversations and testimony from several people, showed that he had used the epithet repeatedly during that period. (NYT)

• High winds blew a large electronic freeway sign in Rancho Cucamonga, California, onto a pickup truck, crushing the driver to death. "He didn't know what hit him," Sergeant Charles Chellew of the California Highway Patrol said. The identity of the 52-year-old man was not immediately released. (AP)

• A man and a woman who served four years for a 1990 strangling were released from prison in Salem, Oregon, following the conviction of a man who confessed to the killing. "There's no longer any doubt that these two individuals are innocent. The evidence is compelling," Judge Paul Lipcomb said of Laverne Avilnac, 62, and her former boyfriend, John Sosovske, 42. (AP)

• A freelance photographer pleaded not guilty to murdering a model and former cheerleader, Linda Stobek. In a brief courtroom appearance in Torrance, California, Charles Rathbun, 38, of Los Angeles was arraigned on one count of first-degree murder and held on \$1 million bail. Miss Stobek, 27, disappeared Nov. 16 after being friends she was going on a modeling assignment. (LAT)

Haiti Insists U.S. Return Trove of Seized Documents

By Larry Rohter
New York Times Service

MIAMI — After landing in Haiti last year, U.S. troops seized more than 150,000 pages of documents from the headquarters of the Haitian armed forces and the country's most feared paramilitary group. Now Haiti wants the records back and accuses Washington of stalling.

The whole issue is becoming an increasingly sore point in relations between the two governments. Haitian officials say the return of the documents is indispensable to their efforts to restore political stability in the country by disarming and prosecuting human rights violators connected with the old regime in Port-au-Prince.

A spokesman for the U.S. Embassy, Stanley Schragar, acknowledged that the documents "are in the hands of the Defense Intelligence Agency and are being reviewed." But he said he had no information as to when they might be returned.

Clinton administration offi-

cials are divided over whether the present Haitian government is legally entitled to the documents, officials in Washington said. The Pentagon insists the documents belonged to the ousted military regime, not the government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and became American property when U.S. troops seized them last year.

Administration officials express concern that the Aristide government, or at least its more extreme supporters, might seek reprisals against supporters of the military regime who are listed in the documents.

"I understand their impatience, but on the other hand there's a big volume of material," a senior State Department official said. "I don't think we're trying to stall. We haven't yet achieved an agreement in the United States government about what we should do with these documents."

Mr. Aristide's chief of staff, Leslie Voltaire, estimated that American troops seized more than 100,000 pages of documents from military headquar-

ters shortly after they landed on Sept. 19, 1994. Other officials said that an American military raid on the headquarters of the main paramilitary group — the Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti, or FRAPH — on Oct. 3, 1994, netted an additional 60,000 pages of records.

Almost as soon as it was founded in 1993, the front became the most brutal and infamous of many Haiti's paramilitary groups, which are believed to have been organized, directed and financed by the Haitian armed forces. Human rights groups have estimated that at least 3,000 people were killed during Mr. Aristide's three years in exile and blame the front for many of those deaths, as well as for thousands of incidents of rape, torture, beatings and arson.

After the October 1994 raid, American soldiers found finding gory "trophy photographs" pasted on the walls of front headquarters showing members of the group with the

people they were killing or torturing. "It's the most disgusting thing I have ever seen in my life," one young soldier, clearly shaken, said at the time.

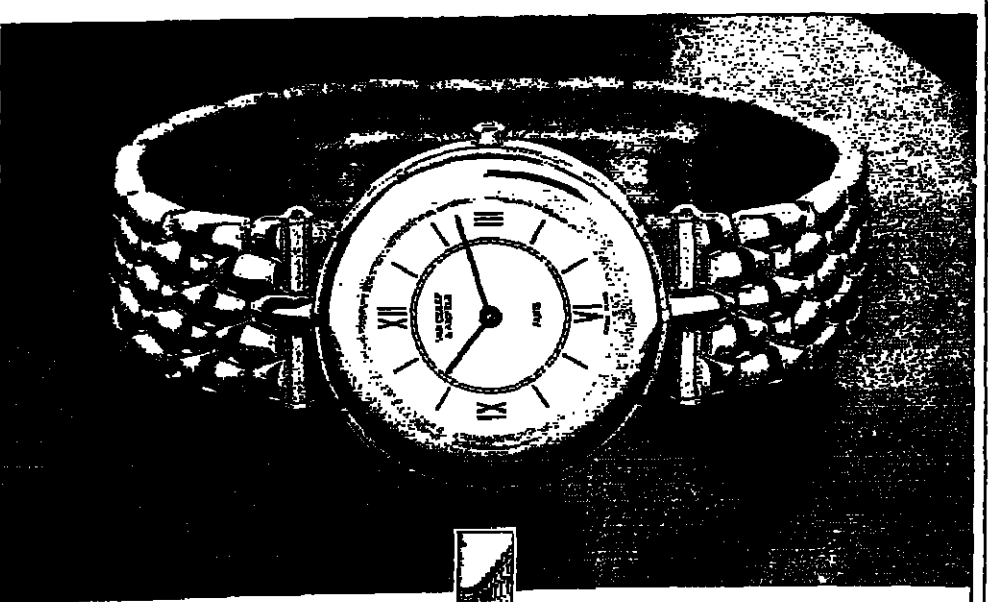
Haitian prosecutors said they regard the 60,000 pages of documents as essential in building a criminal case against the group's founder, Emmanuel Constant, who fled the country after the arrival of American forces and made his way, under circumstances that are still unclear, to the United States, where he was apprehended. An immigration judge in Baltimore recently ordered Mr. Constant deported, but his lawyers are appealing.

During the front's reign of terror, Mr. Constant, a former diplomat whose father was army commander during the dictatorship of François Duvalier, often boasted of links to American intelligence agencies. According to press reports

published shortly after the American invasion, Mr. Constant had earlier been a paid informant for the CIA and was urged by the DIA to engage in intelligence activities against Mr. Aristide.

An American official said "there may be legitimate national security reasons for withholding" the documents and expressed concern that their release could "encourage violence" in Haiti. Given the lack of an effective police force and the scheduled withdrawal of UN troops in February, there is a danger "these documents might be used to target people" in acts of vigilante justice, he contended.

Some Haitian officials say the United States has been unwilling to hand over the papers because it fears the disclosure of information that is likely to embarrass American intelligence agencies.



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EUROPE

Tories Offer 'Neutral Budget,' But Will U.K. Voters Buy It?

By Erik Ipsen
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — In presenting what may well be his government's last budget before a general election, the chancellor of the Exchequer on Tuesday confounded expectations by failing to deliver major vote-getting measures.

"I have no intention of throwing away gains we've made in getting public-sector borrowing down," Chancellor Kenneth Clarke in the Parliament.

Instead, he emphasized that it was a "broadly neutral" budget in which tax cuts were offset by reductions in planned public spending.

"This was not the sort of all guns blazing budget that wins elections," said Nigel Richardson, head of bond research at Yamaichi International.

Nor was it likely to win over the financial markets. In the aftermath of the chancellor's speech, both the pound and the bond market lost ground.

Of chief concern for the markets was the widening in the government's own forecasts for its borrowings in future years. A year ago, for instance, the government was forecasting its 1996-97 borrowings at £13 billion (about \$20 billion). As of Tuesday that forecast stood at

£22.5 billion. Those sorts of revisions raised fears that, beneath all the detail, the chancellor had quietly shifted gears to more expansionary fiscal policies.

For voters who will have a chance to pass judgment on Tory rule by no later than the spring of 1997, the budget had attractions — just not nearly on the scale widely forecast. That shortfall raised suspicions that the Tories think they can avoid calling an election in 1996, and thus feel comfortable that they will present one last budget next November.

Mr. Clarke's boldest step was confined to a 1 percentage point cut in the basic rate of income tax, from 25 percent to 24 percent. Beyond that, he said he would control spending elsewhere in order to increase spending in "the three services people care most about — schools, hospitals and the police."

The National Health Service will get an extra £1 billion, spending on schools will rise by £878 million and 5,000 police officers will be hired over the next three years.

After 16 years of Conservative rule, however, pundits saw little in the budget that would win continued support from voters.

Following the chancellor's speech, the Labor Party leader,

Tony Blair, noted that with their income tax cut, the government "gives back only a fraction of what has been taken away." He charged that since the last election the Tories had raised taxes by 7 percent.

For the Conservatives, much hope now must rest on one thing that Mr. Clarke did not even mention in his speech — monetary policy. By presenting a budget notable only for its lack of surprises, and costly giveaways, the chancellor may have laid the groundwork for future interest rate cuts, according to analysts.

Peter Warburton, an economist with Robert Fleming Securities, calculates that a 1 percentage point cut in interest rates is equivalent to a £6 billion cut in taxes in terms of its ability to stimulate the economy.

Some analysts suggested that any hope of stimulating the economy by lowering the cost of borrowing would now rest on the reaction in the markets to the unexpected widening in the government's borrowing targets.



Chancellor Clarke holding up the budget box on Tuesday.

Free-Trade Pledge in Barcelona Mediterranean Nations Forge Broad Pact

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BARCELONA — The European Union and its neighbors from the Middle East and North Africa pledged Tuesday to lift trade barriers and foster private investment across the Mediterranean in pursuit of a free-trade area by 2010.

Sidestepping disagreement over farm exports to Europe, foreign ministers at the first Euro-Mediterranean conference approved an ambitious program covering energy, industry, science, telecommunications, tourism and transportation.

The 27 participants in the Euro-Mediterranean conference ended nearly three hours late after ministers found a way around Arab-Israeli disputes on terrorism, nuclear weapons and self-determination.

"I congratulate you on your good work," Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez of Spain told foreign ministers from the 15 European Union states, 11 east and southern Mediterranean countries and the Palestinian Authority. "It represents the

culmination of ancient aspirations and the start of a new relationship."

The Barcelona Declaration called for a regular political dialogue, enhanced EU economic aid to Mediterranean states, cooperation to control migration, crime and drugs and the prospect of a free trade area for industrial goods in the year 2010.

It included references acceptable to Israel on the right to self-determination, nuclear nonproliferation and the fight against terrorism, although in a letter to the Spanish chairman, the Israelis said the issues had no place in such a forum.

Algeria's foreign minister, Salah Dendir, said on behalf of Arab states that the agreement was a landmark on the road to fairer relations between the rich northern Mediterranean states and their poorer southern neighbors.

Sitting directly across the oval table, the Israeli foreign minister, Ehud Barak, applauded him enthusiastically. "This is the start of a new

Mediterranean," Foreign Minister Hervé de Charette said.

Ministers said Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinians made oral statements in the closing session dissenting from some wording on Middle East issues but none had entered a formal reservation.

Spain's foreign minister, Javier Solana, refused to accept any further amendments to a text worked out in hours of backroom talks. His diplomatic success could aid an undeclared campaign to make him the next secretary-general of NATO.

Diplomats said that in the drafting negotiations, Syria had sought to distinguish between terrorism and "legitimate freedom fighting" and foiled a call to hold the next Euro-Mediterranean conference at summit level in an Arab capital.

Instead, the declaration said merely that the next meeting of foreign ministers would take place in 1997 in one of the 12 east and southern Mediterranean partners, fixing no location. (AP, Reuters)

Weakened Papandreou Is Back on Respirator

Reuters

ATHENS — Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, 76, hospitalized with pneumonia, was to be put back on a respirator after undergoing dialysis for a second time in 24 hours on Tuesday, a hospital spokesman said.

Mr. Papandreou, who had open-heart surgery in 1988, was taken to the hospital eight days ago with pneumonia in his left lung and spent last week on a respirator to support breathing.

"The prime minister tolerated the dialysis well," said Aias Antoniadis, one of his doctors at the hospital here. "In the afternoon hours there was a persistent problem in the breathing function, which needs support from a respirator."

Some observers said the

statement signaled a turn for the worse for the prime minister after he had managed to breathe on his own after a week on the respirator, to sit up and to eat.

His condition worsened after a blood transfusion on Monday, which caused lung and kidney problems. He had dialysis twice in 16 hours, a mechanical cleansing of the blood necessary when kidneys fail to filter impurities from the bloodstream.

The medical reports raised questions about whether he can serve his full term and prompting jockeying for position among potential successors.

Doctors have said that even in the most optimistic scenario, his recovery will be long and slow and that he will have to be confined to his home for months.

BRIEFLY EUROPE

Major Is Hopeful on Ulster Talks

LONDON — Britain said Tuesday that it had made progress with Ireland toward a breakthrough in the stalled Northern Ireland peace process but warned that some important issues still had to be resolved.

Prime Minister John Major told Parliament that he had spoken to his Irish counterpart, John Bruton, on Monday and that they would probably confer again later in the day.

Mr. Major said he hoped that he and Mr. Bruton would soon break a deadlock over terms for all-party political talks on Northern Ireland's future, but stressed that he would not be rushed into a deal.

Britain wants the Irish Republican Army to disarm before its political wing, Sinn Féin, joins the talks. Ireland wants preliminary talks to be held while an outside panel adjudicates the timing and logistics of disarmament. (Reuters)

Norway to Pause on Joining EU

OSLO — Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland says Norway, which rejected membership in the European Union a year ago Tuesday, will probably not attempt to join for at least another five years.

Mrs. Brundtland said that her Labor minority government would strive to keep Norwegian interests high on the European political agenda. And she said that Norway's currency should be linked in some manner to the single European currency that is to be created after 1999.

Asked when EU membership might come up again in Norway, she replied: "It will not be a question in the 1990s. I am sure we are talking about at least five years." (Reuters)

Scalfaro Resists Call for Elections

ROME — Faced with rising support among political leaders for an early general election, President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro praised the government of Prime Minister Lamberto Dini and called Tuesday for calm during the country's six-month presidency of the European Union, beginning in January.

Speaking on an official visit to the Netherlands, Mr. Scalfaro said Italy had "a great responsibility toward Europe and not just Europe" during its EU presidency.

"The main point for all of us is to ensure that nobody tomorrow can say Italy's problems have had a negative effect on Europe," he said on Italian RAI television.

Massimo D'Alema, leader of the former communist Democratic Party of the Left, which supports Mr. Dini, said Monday that it was time for an election. (Reuters)

Calendar

European Union events scheduled for Wednesday:

BRUSSELS: European Commission meets.

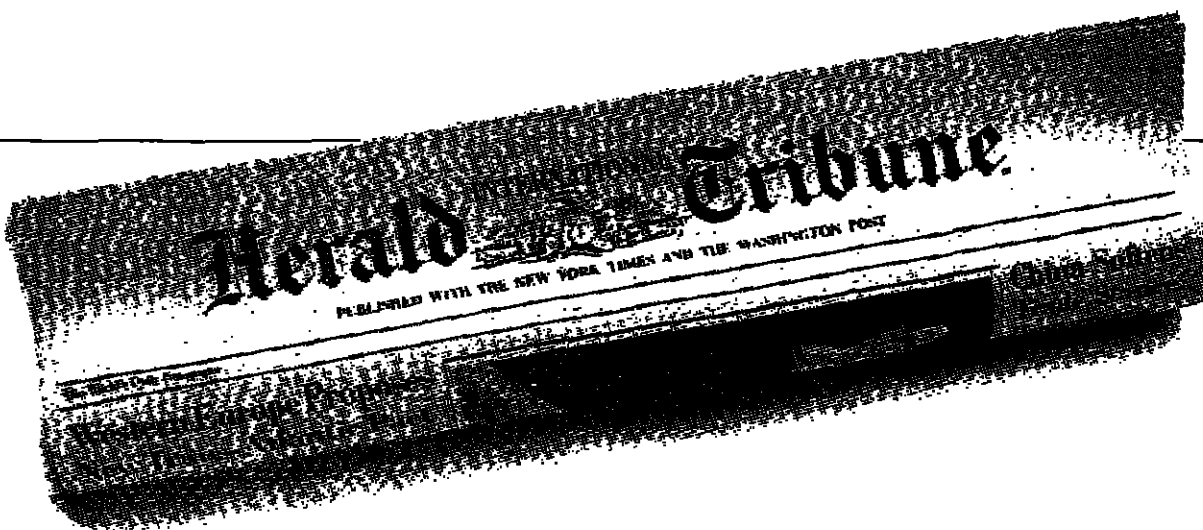
BRUSSELS: Agriculture ministers hold meeting.

BRUSSELS: The commission president, Jacques Santer, holds a press conference preparatory to the Dec. 15-16 summit meeting in Madrid.

BRUSSELS: The industry commissioner, Martin Bangemann, presents European Technology Award at conference on information technology.

Sources: Agence Europe, AFP

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THE WORLD'S DAILY NEWSPAPER

INTERNATIONAL

Russians and NATO Agree On Bosnia Force Command

By Craig R. Whitney
New York Times Service

BRUSSELS — NATO and Russia said Tuesday that they had worked out agreement in principle to send 1,500 Russian troops to Bosnia with the 60,000-member American-led peacekeeping force that is expected to begin moving in as early as during next week.

Defense Secretary William J. Perry said that, with the peace accord scheduled to be signed in Paris in mid-December, 500 to 700 American troops would be among NATO forces that would begin preparations in Bosnia next week.

The United States will eventually have a total of more than 20,000 soldiers in the operation, to be called Joint Endeavor.

The Russian defense minister, General Pavel S. Grachev, said after meeting his NATO counterparts here that his country could send in an additional 1,000 soldiers to work on reconstruction

projects if peace took hold. Russia will also leave its 1,500 soldiers in the Serb-occupied Croatian province of eastern Slavonia, as requested by the United Nations, he declared.

The Russian troops will not serve under NATO command but will take operational orders from the U.S. general in charge of the entire operation, General George A. Joulwan, the senior NATO military commander in Europe. At President Boris N. Yeltsin's request, NATO agreed not to insist on General Joulwan's NATO role where Russian troops were concerned.

General Grachev also got a NATO commitment Tuesday to set up a consultative committee to deal with political disagreements that might arise within the peacekeeping force once it gets there, but overall political control of the operation will remain with the alliance.

Mr. Perry described the commission as "a chance to get their voice in."

"This will affect security relations in Europe between NATO and Russia for years to come," Mr. Perry said.

A senior NATO military commander said that the initial 1,500 Russian infantry and airborne troops, commanded by Colonel General Leonid P. Shevtsov, would probably serve with the U.S. First Armored Division in a brigade that is to take up position in the corridor separating the eastern and western parts of the Serb-controlled parts of Bosnia.

General Grachev said that Mr. Yeltsin would have to formally approve the political consultation arrangement, and allied ambassadors will also do so Thursday.

The senior NATO military commander said Tuesday that the bulk of NATO peacekeepers would be in place within 60 to 90 days, with most of the 10,000 French and 15,000 British troops coming from the UN Protection Force. The warring parties will have 30 days to remove their forces from the zone of separation negotiated in the accord.



Bosnian Croats, opposing territorial concessions, trying to storm the Parliament building in Zagreb on Tuesday as President Franjo Tudjman addressed lawmakers on the peace accord.

BALKANS: Big Risks

Continued from Page 1

Serbian side during the weekend and local officials threatened to burn the area if it was given back. The Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, has called for a renegotiation of Sarajevo's status, although that is prohibited under the plan.

UN representatives said last week that the planned Muslim corridor connecting Sarajevo to the Bosnian Muslim enclave of Gorazde in the east will be broadened with the construction of a road. That, too, will run over Serbian territory, near Kalinovik, the birthplace of Ratko Mladic, military leader of the Bosnian Serbs.

Another hot spot is Brcko—a town held by the Serbs in the center of the strategic Posavina corridor linking Serbian-held territories in northern Bosnia and the east. The territorial partition agreed on in Dayton foresees international arbitration about Brcko's status, beginning six months after the agreement on Bosnia goes into force.

Already, Croatian leaders have vowed to fight any deal there because a widening of the corridor would mean a Croatian evacuation.

Of the many potential traps to the forces of NATO as they roll into Bosnia, none could be more deadly than the Bosnian Serbs. Their army, with its 80,000 men, 460 tanks, 400 armored personnel carriers, 1,200 artillery pieces, about 300 anti-aircraft guns and 25 attack helicopters is the most potent force based in Bosnia. Having endured two weeks of a NATO air campaign over the summer and a string of defeats by the Croats and the Muslims, that army may also be the angriest around.

Clinton on Troop Use: 'Strategic Interests' at Stake

New York Times Service

Following are excerpts from President Bill Clinton's address on Bosnia:

Let me say at the outset America's role will not be about fighting a war. It will be about helping the people of Bosnia to secure their own peace agreement. Our mission will be limited, focused and under the command of an American general. In fulfilling this mission, we will have the chance to help stop the killing of innocent civilians, especially children, and at the same time to bring stability to central Europe, a region of the world that is vital to our national interests. It is the right thing to do.

Today, because of our dedication, America's ideals—liberty, democracy and peace—are more and more the aspirations of people everywhere in the world. It is the power of our ideas, even more than our size, our wealth and our military might, that makes America a uniquely trusted nation.

With the Cold War over, some people now question the need for our continued active leadership in the world. They believe that much like after World War I, America can now step back from the responsibilities of leadership. They argue

that to be secure we need only to keep our own borders safe and that the time has come now to leave to others the hard work of leadership beyond our borders.

I strongly disagree. As the Cold War gives way to the global village, our leadership is needed more than ever because problems that start beyond our borders can quickly become problems within them. We're all vulnerable to the organized forces of intolerance and destruction, terrorism, ethnic, religious and regional rivalries, the spread of organized crime and weapons of mass destruction and drug trafficking. Just as surely as Fascism and Communism, these forces also threaten freedom and democracy, peace and prosperity. And they too demand American leadership.

America cannot and must not be the world's policeman. We cannot stop all war for all time but we can stop some wars. We cannot save all women and all children. But we can save many of them.

We can't do everything, but we must do what we can. There are times and places where our leadership can mean the difference between peace and war and where we can defend our funda-

mental values as a people and serve our most basic strategic interests.

The terrible war in Bosnia is such a case. Nowhere today is the need for American leadership more stark or more immediate than in Bosnia. For nearly four years a terrible war has torn Bosnia apart. Horrors we prayed had been banished from Europe forever have been seared into our minds again: skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed-wire fences, women and girls raped as a tool of war, defenseless men and boys shot down in the mass graves, evoking visions of World War II concentration camps, and endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

Now the war is over. American leadership created the chance to build a peace and stop the suffering. Securing peace in Bosnia will also help to build a free and stable Europe. Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe, next door to many of its fragile new democracies and some of our closest allies. Generations of Americans have understood that Europe's freedom and Europe's stability is vital to our own national security. The only force capable of getting this job done is NATO, the powerful military alliance of democracies

that has guaranteed our security for a half century now. And as NATO's leader and the primary broker of the peace agreement, the United States must be an essential part of the mission.

First, the mission will be precisely defined with clear, realistic goals that can be achieved in a definite period of time. Our troops will make sure that each side withdraws its forces behind the front lines and keeps them there. They will maintain the cease-fire to prevent the war from accidentally starting again.

Second, the risks to our troops will be minimized. American troops will take their orders from the American general who commands NATO. They will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained.

As president my most difficult duty is to put the men and women who volunteered to serve our nation in harm's way when our interest and values demand it. I assume full responsibility for any harm that may come to them. But anyone contemplating any action that would endanger our troops should know this: America protects its own. Anyone—anyone—who takes on our troops will suffer the consequences. We will fight fire with fire, and then some.

PRESIDENT: Muted Support

Continued from Page 1

mittees were scheduled by Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, Defense Secretary William J. Perry and the current chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General John M. Shalikashvili.

The final NATO plan for the Bosnia operation is to be sent to Mr. Clinton this week. The president then hopes for a non-binding vote of support in Congress by mid-December. With or without such support, Mr. Clinton says, he will go ahead.

The public, meanwhile, appeared sharply divided.

One poll conducted Monday after Mr. Clinton's speech found 30 percent of viewers were more likely afterward to support a U.S. troop deployment to Bosnia.

But overall, the CNN-USA Today-Gallup Poll found 46 percent of respondents supporting the deployment and 40 percent opposed.

Bonn to Send 4,000 Men

New York Times Service

BONN — The government resolved Tuesday to send 4,000 troops to join the proposed NATO peace mission for Bosnia—the biggest single deployment of German soldiers since World War II.

The bulk of the German contingent in the American-led 60,000-member NATO force will be stationed in Croatia, to avoid exposing them to hostilities by Serbs who recall wartime Nazi atrocities and regard Germans as biased in favor of Croatia.

The German force will be largely made up of logistics, medical and transport units rather than combat troops.

Nonetheless, the decision represents a further move away from Germany's postwar tradition of avoiding displays of militarism that might rekindle memories of its bellicose history.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's cabinet approved the deployment. Parliament is to debate the decision Dec. 4, and the two principal opposition parties are divided on the issue. While the Greens said they opposed the deployment, the Social Democrats' parliamentary caucus voted in favor of it.

In a hearing Tuesday before the Senate Armed Services Committee, a former national security adviser said that while the deployment could be dangerous, it was now necessary. "The possibility for signif-

icant reverses, if not disaster, is fairly high," said Brent Scowcroft, who served in the Bush administration. But, he added, U.S. credibility would suffer if the pledge to send the troops was not carried out.

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SMOKE: Tobacco Firms Target EU's Regulators

Continued from Page 1

Tribune depicted street maps of Brussels, London and other big cities with tiny areas outlined. The ads warned, "The passion to regulate people's lives can lead to infringements of personal liberty."

More recently, Philip Morris, whose biggest-selling cigarettes in Europe are Marlboro, Chesterfield, and L&M, has added more of a human touch. Last week, it began its second big campaign with full-page ads showing office workers standing in the rain on a street outside their building, lighting up. The caption reads: "What sort of policy forces these people outside?"

European Union officials say it was no accident that the campaign began just as the organization's commissioner for social affairs, Padraig Flynn, was trying to organize support for banning almost all print and billboard advertising of cigarettes across the 15-country organization.

Since 1989, the European Union has banned television advertising of cigarettes, and now Mr. Flynn wants to expand the rule to other forms of public

advertising. Mr. Flynn would like to see the ban approved Thursday at a meeting of European Union health ministers. But his aides say there is almost no chance of that happening, primarily because Germany, Britain, and the Netherlands are opposed.

Officials at Mr. Flynn's office say the three countries oppose the ban because they all have big tobacco interests.

But British officials say that their country is among the strictest in the European Union in banning advertising and restricting smoking in public places, and that they do not see a total advertising ban as reducing consumption.

"The statistics simply show that the countries where there is the highest smoking-related illness rate are where cigarettes are cheapest," a British official said. "It's a correlation with the prices of cigarettes, not advertising. So you have to raise the duties."

The countries where smoking seems most pervasive are often those where the bans on cigarette ads are the tightest. In Italy, France and Portugal, all advertisements are banned except indirect advertising, for products like Camel lighters

and Marlboro brand clothing. David I. Greenberg, vice president for corporate affairs at Philip Morris in Brussels, said more than 40 national and local laws "dictate where and when people can smoke."

Philip Morris officials declined to state the cost of the campaign, except to say that it was in the millions of dollars and that it was a small fraction of the company's overall advertising budget in Europe.

Mr. Greenberg advocates that smokers and nonsmokers work out their differences on the local level and points to the restaurant association of Madrid, which recently agreed that all restaurants set aside 25 percent of their tables for nonsmokers.

But those minding Europe's purse strings may have economic reasons not to restrict smoking. Taxes on cigarettes account for an enormous amount of European governments' revenues. In 1993, for example, tobacco excise taxes represented 5 percent of all government revenue in Germany and 6.2 percent in Greece. For the 12 countries that were then part of the European Union, tobacco taxes amounted to 3.5 percent of state revenues.

A Victory In U.S. for Unions

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Federal labor law protects paid union organizers from being denied jobs or fired by companies they seek to unionize, the Supreme Court ruled Tuesday.

The unanimous ruling in a case from Minnesota breathed new life into a tactic, called "salting," that labor unions use to sign up construction workers and others holding nonunion jobs.

"Can a worker be a company's 'employee' if, at the same time, a union pays that worker to help the union organize the company?" Justice Stephen G. Breyer wrote for the court. "We agree with the National Labor Relations Board that the answer is 'yes.'"

The decision reversed a federal appeals court ruling that said paid union organizers did not qualify for legal protection against an employer's discrimination based on union membership.

Unions in the construction industry have long been seeking to get organizers hired by nonunion firms.

Indicted Officer Warns Mandela of Turmoil

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PRETORIA — A former South African defense minister, General Magnus Malan, warned President Nelson Mandela's government on Tuesday that it risked political and financial turmoil by putting him on trial for murder.

General Malan, who led the security force assault against anti-apartheid groups in the turbulent 1980s, also said he feared former soldiers and policemen would be treated unfairly by Mr. Mandela's government as it tries to uncover apartheid-era crimes.

General Malan and some of his top generals have been accused in the murders of 13 African National Congress sympathizers killed by an alleged military-trained hit squad in Natal Province in 1987. The 20 accused will appear in court Friday to be formally charged, with their trial expected to begin in March.

The case has highlighted the debate over a new Truth and Reconciliation Commission intended to investigate murders and torture by the apartheid government and by guerrilla groups that fought to topple them.

General Malan, defense minister throughout the 1980s when violent opposition to the apartheid government was at its height, was the most senior of 10 former security force officers charged this month.

"At no stage did the state security council indicate, plan or decide on murder actions," General Malan said Tuesday in a reference to the inner cabinet that ran security operations in the apartheid era.

"However, should any member of the previous state security council be charged with these or similar deeds,

such action might cause turmoil in South Africa, politically and economically."

He added: "If you take actions very similar to those taken against me, I say: Watch it. Because it might cause turmoil, and that's the last thing I want in South Africa."

The decision to charge General Malan has been sharply criticized by two former presidents, Pieter W. Botha and Frederik W. de Klerk, as violating the spirit of reconciliation marking the transition from white minority rule to democracy. (A.P. Reuters)

Gunmen Kill General In Attack Near Algiers

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PARIS — A senior Algerian Army general was killed by armed men near his home in an Algiers suburb, the most senior army officer to be killed in the country's four years of civil strife.

The Defense Ministry in Algiers said Tuesday that General Mohammed Bouhigane was shot in a "cowardly attack" by "criminals" Monday as he was shopping in the Birmandrie suburb of the capital. It confirmed earlier reports from sources who said it was the first murder of a general since fighting broke out between the

military-backed government and Islamic extremists after the cancellation of the January 1992 elections that Islamic fundamentalists had been poised to win.

General Bouhigane, 59, was commander of coast guard forces and had been a military attaché in Rome. The government statement said he died "a few minutes" after he was taken to a military hospital.

No group took responsibility for the attack. The killing came nearly eight hours after President Liamine Zerrouk took the oath of office in a ceremony attended by about 500 dignitaries. (A.P. Reuters)

FRANCE: Government Struggles to Save Reforms

Continued from Page 1

around the country, demanding more funds and less crowded conditions in the schools. Doctors and nurses have threatened to hit the streets unless health care reforms take their needs into account. Even famous chefs and restaurant owners are warning about shutting down unless the government eases their tax burdens.

While hot autumns of labor turmoil are not uncommon here, the persistent failure of any French government to push through austerity plans or other painful reforms without provoking massive labor stoppages have raised anxieties among foreign investors and other European Union countries. They are asking whether France will ever accept temporary pain for long-term gain.

The current climate of unrest has become increasingly worrisome as the government confronts the possibility of a new

recession. Growth forecasts are being sharply curtailed and joblessness is again heading back above three million people, or 12 percent of the labor force.

Nonetheless, Mr. Juppé insists that he will not buckle under union pressure.

Even as public outrage with the monumental traffic jams and the train stoppages was reaching the breaking point, Mr. Juppé's government was holding fast and remaining confident that it could ride out the storm. The opposition Socialists have lined up against the reform program, but the government enjoys an 80 percent majority in Parliament and the right to push its reforms through by decree.

"There can be no turning back on reform," Alain Lamassouere, the government spokesman, said Tuesday in rejecting union appeals for compromise. "Social security reform is a package. If any one of its elements were thrown into ques-

tion, the entire package would collapse."

But other government officials expressed alarm Tuesday about the depth of hostility shown toward the reforms. While 30,000 workers marched through Paris on Tuesday to protest welfare cutbacks, similar demonstrations were held in almost every major city in France.

Much labor opposition is rooted in fears that the state sector would be forced to lay off many workers to reverse its losses. France's rail network employs 180,000 people and its high-speed lines provide some of the most modern and efficient service in the world. The costs of maintaining the system have driven the service \$35 billion into debt. The government says it is willing to absorb up to \$20 billion of those losses, but only if the train system makes the necessary sacrifices — meaning layoffs — to improve profits over the next five years.

ORDER: Breaking Mold, the Boss May Be Younger

Continued from Page 1

the growth rate of the business has slowed down. Under those circumstances, our company has to change."

In the United States, during the last big rush of restructuring, change normally meant cutting costs to create a leaner and meaner fighting machine.

But in Japan, the primary goal is often described as something less visible than the next quarterly report. Many companies say their real objective is to create an environment that fosters leadership, a difficult task in a society where people are taught to submerge their iden-

tities into that of the group and to avoid conflicts with members of that group.

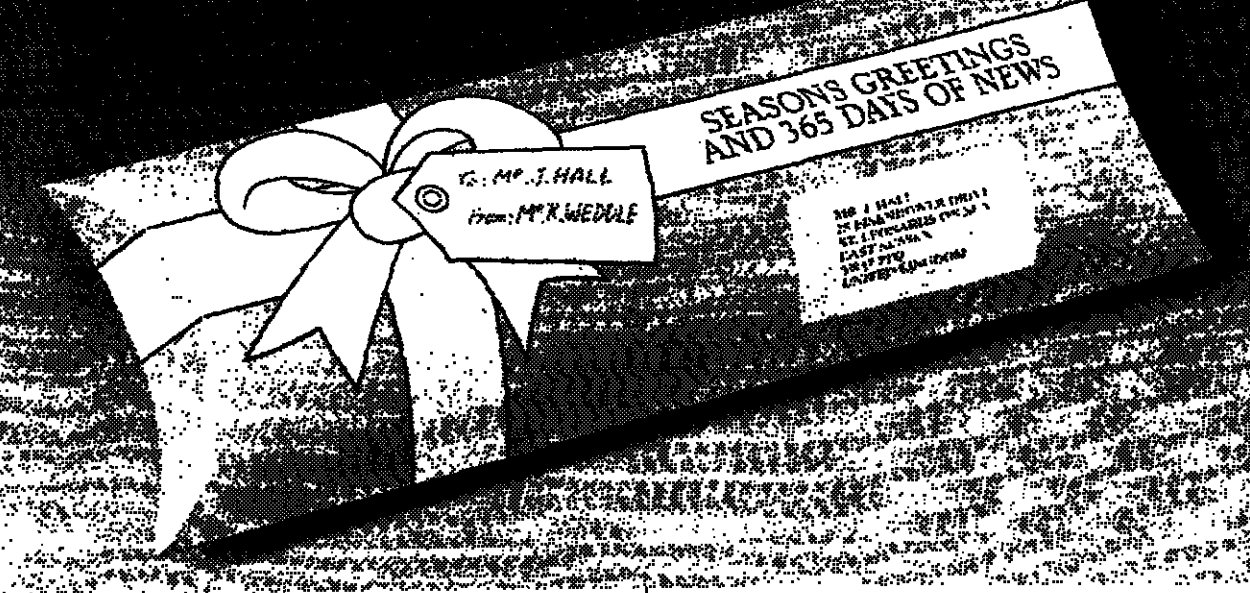
And Japanese personnel officials say American-style restructuring, with whole layers of middle management being dismissed, is unlikely to happen here. Japanese companies worry that abrupt layoffs would destroy the ties that bind their society together. Instead, downsizing Japanese-style often entails new relationships.

For instance, when Mitsui Petrochemical eliminated the job of 55-year-old Shozo Suzuki in June, he was "farmed out." That meant Mitsui officials found Mr. Suzuki another job.

In this case, it was at a small company that manages kiosks that sell things such as lipsticks and stockings. Because the new company can afford to pay Mr. Suzuki only 60 percent of his old salary, Mitsui pays the other 40 percent, meaning their old worker loses no money.

But even as he benefits from the Japanese system, Mr. Suzuki says that change is inevitable. "I think sooner or later the harmony that was with Japanese companies for a long time will diminish, because enterprises have to make profits," he said. If the system does not change, he said, "Japanese companies cannot survive."

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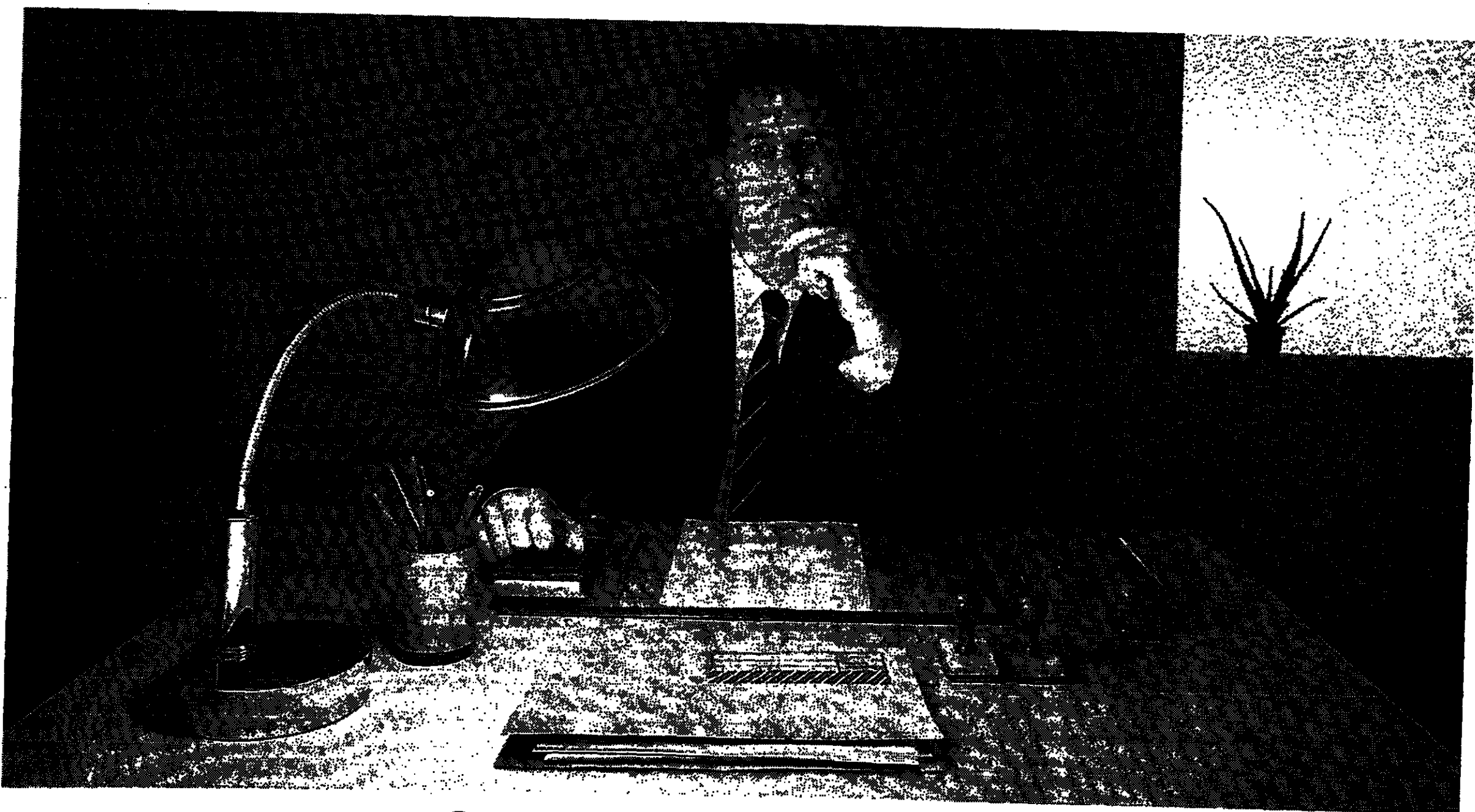
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EDITORIALS/OPINION

Herald Tribune

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Yes, Troops for Bosnia

In a speech on Monday, President Bill Clinton asked the American people and their congressional representatives to approve his plan to send 20,000 troops to Bosnia to help establish the peace. Dispatching soldiers to the Balkans is not a prospect that Americans face with enthusiasm. But the mission that the president defines is limited, achievable and in accordance with U.S. national interests.

Mr. Clinton made a strong case in a sober, measured address. Congress should honor his request in a timely manner so that American troops can be deployed, along with 40,000 others from European countries and Canada, once a formal peace agreement is signed in Paris, probably in mid-December.

Although Mr. Clinton claims authority to send the troops on his own, congressional approval is essential. The peace-keeping mission is too difficult and potentially too divisive to put American lives at risk without the approval of a majority of both the House and the Senate.

The 60,000 NATO troops will be under exclusive NATO control, answerable to an American commanding general. They will operate under rules of engagement that let them defend themselves vigorously if threatened from any quarter. Furthermore, their mission will be unencumbered by the kind of well-meant but dangerous nation-building objectives that brought combat fiascos and policy quagmires in the recent past.

Having brokered a workable Bosnian peace agreement, the United States cannot honorably evade responsibility for enforcing it. America's long-standing interest in European security and its humanitarian interest in halting an appalling murderous conflict also argue strongly for American military participation in a carefully designed peace enforcement mission.

It would, however, be a grave mistake to overestimate what NATO troops can hope to accomplish in the one year they are expected to be in Bosnia. Their objectives should be limited to maintaining the existing cease-fire, physically separating the warring parties and overseeing the division of territory agreed to by Balkan leaders in Ohio.

There should be no illusions that Americans can somehow undo the damage of war and restore the unified, multiethnic Bosnia that existed three and a half years ago. Nor can they restore millions of refugees to their lost homes, guarantee the democratic functioning of Bosnian national institutions or assure that war criminals are brought to justice.

That work, in the end, can be done only by the peoples of Bosnia, supported by the international community as a whole. It is not the business of the NATO force. The outside world cannot impose reconciliation and unity in Bosnia.

Western Europe, with help from Washington, can take the lead in providing money for the reconstruction of war-ravaged Bosnia and the resettlement of its 2 million refugees. America can join European nations in trying to equalize the balance of postwar military might among Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia to discourage a new outbreak of fighting.

The future of America's military role in Europe, Washington's international leadership and Mr. Clinton's presidency will all be affected by what happens in Bosnia over the next 12 months. Mr. Clinton has defined a reasonable mission for American troops. He deserves the country's carefully considered support.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Haiti Example

As Haiti slides toward instability again, it is not a bad moment to observe that, come what may, American troops there have already accomplished a great deal. They ended an epidemic of killings by the previous military regime and its friends. Simply by being in the country, U.S. forces have saved many lives. The flow of desperate people attempting to emigrate illegally to Florida dropped off for a year (although in the present atmosphere it is beginning to pick up again). Haiti held an election last summer, although a chaotic one, and if all goes well will hold another for president next month.

Those achievements are worth keeping in mind as the debate gets under way over sending American troops to Bosnia. There would be a lot of similarities between the two operations. Going into Bosnia would be more dangerous, and the prospects for building a viable democracy in one year would be at least as uncertain. But beyond all the important political reasons for going ahead, an enormous number of lives could be saved merely by interrupting the slaughter.

Haiti is only a kind of spring training for the complications that intervention in Bosnia would generate. The president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, tells some audiences that he will certainly leave office in February as the constitution requires,

but to other audiences he hints that maybe he will reconsider. The presidential election is to be held in less than three weeks, but preparations are sadly inadequate and some of the parties are already crying foul.

And Mr. Aristide's performance is not the only thing to worry about. His latest outburst was set off by the assassination of a cousin and close friend, an obvious provocation, presumably by people who liked the old regime and are trying to tip over the new democracy. For Haiti, the question now is not only whether the presidential election will be held on schedule but whether the winner will be able to govern in peace after February, when the United Nations mission, including the U.S. troops, pulls out. Similar questions are very likely to arise in Bosnia.

The Clinton administration is now desperately trying to devise ways to keep at least a few soldiers in Haiti without seriously bending its promise to withdraw the mission. Meanwhile, it must work with politicians whom it neither likes very much nor trusts very much — as in Bosnia. All that you can say for the venture is that it is saving lives, a lot of them, and is giving democracy a small chance in a place where otherwise it would have none at all.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

A Different Ireland

The Republic of Ireland is a Catholic country not only in numbers (more than 90 percent of the citizens are members of the Church) but in the traditional strength of the relationship between church and state, which extends even to civil law. In the early days of the republic, Catholic principles and prohibitions were written into the constitution, and the clergy were active in mobilizing and encouraging laymen to support those principles in civil life. By a hair's breadth, this history was changed last Friday, when voters in the republic repealed a constitutional provision banning divorce.

Every political party in the country supported the repeal. The returns were extremely close, but the formidable opposition of the bishops, the Pope and even Mother Teresa were overcome when the ballots were counted.

The vote does not necessarily signal a rift between church and state but rather a change in their relationship. In years past, the word of the hierarchy was virtually decisive in Ireland. Now it remains influential, but voters and government leaders more easily make the distinction between religious and secular concerns.

In part, attitudes have changed because of numerous scandals, recently revealed, involving priests. But the election

results acknowledge the reality that the ban did not keep unhappy families together. Instead, tens of thousands of separated spouses and their children were left in a state of limbo, unable to reorganize their lives or form new families under any circumstances. Hard as it may be for the devout to accept, there are unhappy families in Ireland, as everywhere else, and no law can force individuals to reconcile.

Referendum opponents cited the social impact of divorce in the United States and in Europe in arguing against change, and surely there is ample reason for the warning. But in the end, the reality of modern life and concern for the welfare of those whose marriages have failed were more persuasive in motivating voters.

The election also suggests a new flexibility in dealing with those who do not share the faith of the majority, which will not go unnoticed by those Protestants in the North whose fears of Church influence in secular society have hindered reconciliation. While voters were concerned chiefly with establishing the civil rights of individuals in the republic, not about improving its image in the North, the positive change in the latter category has to be a happy by-product of the vote.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Listen to Democratic Taiwan, Noisy and Distinct

By A. M. Rosenthal

TAIPEI — The trucks move day and night through the streets of Taiwan like creatures alive and wild with their own energy — shouting and singing through their loudspeakers, denouncing, trumpeting, cajoling, forbidding escape or the succor of a moment's silence.

The loudspeakers, mounted fore, aft and atop, deliver a gigantic rolling headache. But they also deliver the sound of democracy — to a small country new to it, and to a huge, glowering country whose leaders detest the thought of it.

This is campaign time in Taiwan, a free campaign, fought hard, for the free election of a national legislature. It is the most important democratic step since 40 years of military rule ended in 1987 and the democratic process began on this island — an often tested missile-distance across the waters from Communist China.

And next March an even more important election will take place. The people of the islands will take part in a direct presidential election — the first direct election of a national leader in the thousands of years of history of the Chinese people.

The economic development of Taiwan moves ahead smartly, and so does its

democratic development. That is news of importance far beyond this island.

Asia has a batch of countries developing economically but not democratically. Just give Asians a full belly, the colonial West used to say. Now that is amended: Just give them a motorbike and big-screen television.

Taiwan is crowded, its cities are messy and its roadsides are junk-strewn. But politically it is becoming quite handsome, a living denial of the slur that Chinese are content to live without political freedom.

Westerners have a way of thinking of Taiwan in relation only to China and their own interests. Mostly they think nervously of how furious Beijing will get if the West gives any acknowledgment or respect to this island that the Communists say is their own province, now and forever.

The West trembles to breathe a word about allowing Taiwan to take part in international activities — even helping refugees. Its skin crawls with fear that Beijing will reduce the West's right to take part in the China trade and the priv-

ilege of buying from China billions of dollars more in goods than the West has any hope of ever selling to China.

The worldwide diplomatic blockade that Beijing has created against Taiwan is not the worst of it. When Beijing thinks that the substantial movement toward an independent Taiwan is getting stronger, or sees the horror of democracy rising on this prosperous island so close to the mainland, the Chinese Communists mount menacing military operations.

No pretense is made that the exercise and the ugly warnings by top military men are not aimed at intimidating Taiwan and aborting its growing fascination with democratic practice. Expect more threats.

The island's people, ethnically Chinese, descend either from families that have lived here for centuries or from immigrants who fled to Taiwan with the Nationalist army when it was defeated by the Communists in 1949. The ruling party is the Kuomintang, a mellowed offspring of the hard-handed party of Chiang Kai-shek. It is headed by President Lee Teng-hui.

Mr. Lee gave Beijing a heart attack recently by visiting his American alma mater, Cornell University. Beijing has

been trying ever since to give one apiece to him and the United States for such impudence.

The Kuomintang stands for reunification with the mainland — some day, when Beijing manages to become non-Communist, and a convert to human rights. So it is denounced by the New Party, made up of breakaway KMT hard-liners, a kind of Confucian Coalition.

The major opposition is the Democratic Progressive Party — strong for independence, but not ready to invite Communist attack by making a Taiwan July Fourth declaration.

Panting for the China trade, the United States forbids Taiwan representatives to set foot in the State Department or the White House. But the weeks of democratic campaigning prove that whether Beijing and its international business lobby approve or not, Taiwan has produced a prosperous, growingly democratic society of its own, separate in political practice and desire from the mainland.

Or, as it appears on posters around the island: "Yes, there is a Taiwan." Send in more trucks.

The New York Times

In Afghanistan, Neighbors Help Brew a Crisis for Southwest Asia

By Amin Saikal

CANBERRA — A major crisis looms in Southwest Asia. The recent success of the Pakistan-backed Islamic movement Taliban in expanding its territorial control in Afghanistan and bombing Kabul is a disturbing development not only for the Afghan people but also for Iran and India.

Tehran and New Delhi may now find it imperative to augment their assistance to the government of President Burhanuddin Rabbani in Kabul to counter Pakistan's fresh attempts to achieve dominance in Afghanistan.

Ever since the victory of the Afghan Islamic resistance groups in April 1992 over the Soviet-installed government in Kabul, Pakistan has found its efforts to gain a controlling influence in post-Communist Afghan politics

frustrated. Despite extensive attempts to advance the interests of its protégé, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Pakistan failed to achieve its aims. These included securing access to the markets and resources of the Central Asian region, now freed of rule from Moscow.

When Mr. Hekmatyar's unprincipled Islamic militancy, and political and military incompetence, finally proved him to be useless, Pakistan late last year took steps to deploy the Taliban force. It is made up of Afghans trained in refugee camps by a Pakistani Islamic organization, and of many of their ethnic kin from Pakistan's side of the border.

Taliban fighters achieved rapid successes by first taking Kandahar, Afghanistan's largest

southern city, and then pushing toward Kabul and defeating Hekmatyar forces along the way.

When they reached the outskirts of Kabul earlier this year, however, they were beaten back by forces loyal to President Rabbani and Ahmed Shah Masoud, his supreme commander. These forces stood firm against any foreign intervention in Afghanistan. Their refusal to capitulate to Pakistan made them attractive to Pakistan's arch-enemy, India, and Pakistan's regional competitor, Iran.

To counter this setback, as well as divert attention from growing civil violence in Karachi, Pakistan in early September provided the Taliban forces extensive logistical support and directed them to take over of Herat in north-

western Afghanistan, thus opening an overland corridor for Pakistan to Turkmenistan.

This development brought Pakistani Islamic forces to Afghanistan's border with Iran, and undermined India's efforts to maintain a regional balance with Pakistan. Taliban air raids on Kabul and a siege of the city now threaten the capital itself.

Taliban is known for opposition to Shiite Islam, the majority sect in Iran, and for a determination to restructure Afghanistan along regressive lines. This may suit the Pakistani authorities, who calculate that they will be able to manipulate a weak and divided Afghanistan, but it can only set alarm bells ringing in Tehran and New Delhi.

Under no circumstance could Iran find Taliban control of Herat

to be tolerable. The people of Herat share a common language and culture with Iran, as do the followers of President Rabbani and Commander Masoud. Nor would India sit idly by and let Pakistan cause a dramatic tilt in the regional balance of power.

This sets the scene for active Iranian and Indian support to the Afghan government. As a result, Pakistan may find that it has bitten off more than it can chew. Its self-serving, shortsighted maneuvers may plunge the entire region into crisis, with Pakistan likely to be the major loser.

The writer, director of the Center for Middle Eastern and Central Asian Studies at the Australian National University, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

An 'Inner Core' Would Aid Europe's Move Toward a Federation

By Roy Denman

BRUSSELS — Europe's future organization is up for discussion. The 1992 Maastricht treaty provided that a further review should take place in 1996. Since the middle of this year, a reflection group has been preparing the ground. It will report to a summit meeting of the European Union in Madrid next month.

There is much to discuss. The present European Union began nearly 40 years ago as a group of six. Now there are 15 member states, and within the next decade there may be as many as 30. There are already too many commissions. The requirement for unanimity among member states will make many decisions impossible. A blueprint for economic and monetary union exists, but several members will not want or be able to follow it. There is no common policy for foreign affairs and defense, nor for justice or domestic affairs. When the Union talks about trade policy, it is taken seriously in the world; when it talks about anything else, it is not.

The discussions so far have been reminiscent of an eminent surgeon brought to a badly injured victim of a car crash. Under difficult conditions he performs an admirable amputation on a leg. Unfortunately, it is the wrong leg. For what the reflection group is addressing is the wrong question. The present group of 15 member

Even now, with 15 states, no general solution is possible.

states is so hopelessly disparate that no general solution is possible. The British government is paralyzed by its Euroskeptics like a rabbit before a snake. Greece is an economic basket case. The Germans fear that the Deutsche mark, if merged with the lira, would turn into Esperanto money. The Swedes, as shown by recent

opinion polls, made a great mistake in joining; they do not want even the present degree of integration, let alone anything closer.

In early 1998 — in little more than two years — member states must decide whether to move to European monetary union. It looks increasingly likely that an inner group consisting of France, Germany, the Benelux countries and Austria might decide to go ahead on their own, on the grounds that the other nations will not be ready or willing to take part.

This will provoke cries of outrage. Europe is being split, people will thunder. In 1958, I remember seeing Reginald Maudling, the British minister for European affairs, to see Walter Hallstein, the president of the European Commission. The Treaty of Rome had been signed the previous year. The Six were going ahead with a customs union.

Mr. Maudling, to whom Continental events were about as fa-

miliar as the dark side of the moon, opened fire on Mr. Hallstein.

"The Six are splitting Europe," he cried. Mr. Hallstein demolished him: It was not the Six that were splitting Europe, it was Britain and the rest. The British had been entreated to join the customs union, but they had refused. They had every right to do so, but surely — being fond of clubs — they could see that if they refused to join a club, they could hardly complain about not being able to enjoy its facilities.

That customs union was not simply a commercial arrangement. The Treaty of Rome, which embodied it, was a major step toward the present Union. It seemed at the time to divide Europe. In fact, it turned out to be the best means of unifying Europe. Without the continued success of the Six from 1957 onward, the nine members that have joined since then would never have wanted to join.

Similarly, an inner EMU core would be a major step toward a European federation. If a small group of countries around France and Germany decided on economic union, it would be such a momentous move toward a pooling of national powers that a common foreign and defense policy (much easier in this small grouping) could not be far behind.

But the questions of organization will be equally momentous. The present European Commission would not constitutionally be able to service simultaneously an inner and an outer group. Might not a new treaty (perhaps the Treaty of Aachen) be necessary, along with a new, small executive that would deal with economic union, foreign policy and defense, and that would represent the new body in the IMF and the G7? This would mean that Europe could begin to run its own show on defense —

and not suffer the recent humiliation of America's vetoing the top appointment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

On this basis, the present commission would be left rather like the OEEC in 1957, servicing a free trade grouping plus an agricultural and fisheries policy in a kind of outer circle.

What would happen with the rest of the community's fields, such as social policy and competition? What would the relation be between the inner group and the outer circle? All 15 or 30 member states would need to be consulted, but the inner group would have the key vote. Would not the outer circle be the natural place for new entrants from Eastern and Central Europe?

These are the real questions confronting the organization of Europe today. For Europe has a choice. It can continue a futile effort to fit 15 wildly disparate states into one meaningful whole. Or those states that are willing to forge ahead should get together and decide how to do so and what their relationship will be with the rest. One day the rest will join.

In the meantime, those states should not hold up those that choose to act together to improve the prosperity of their citizens and their power to defend their interests in the world. Much will depend on whether, as in 1950, France and Germany take the lead.

International Herald Tribune

What Happens if There Isn't Work?

By Richard Reeves

TALLAHASSEE, Florida — "Do you see any good news about jobs out there? I'd love to hear it!" said Bill Posey, a member of the Florida House of Representatives, after I spoke to legislators here about leadership and power and all that.

Asked about the greatest problem for future political leaders, I had said: "Finding a moral equivalent of work." What do we do if there is not enough work to go around in a country and a democracy built on the work ethic, where self-esteem is rooted in what you do and how much you make?

I don't know the answer. But I do think that American democracy is based on a prospering

more? The young ones are in white-collar slave jobs, and when they burn out they'll be replaced by a new crop of college graduates.

Flying on to Jacksonville, I saw more news of a kind in one of those USA Subspots in the newspaper USA Today. This one was in the business section, reporting that the pay ratio of chief executives to average workers in big American corporations had gone from 41-to-1 in the mid-1970s to 187-to-1 last year.

The average annual pay of all the workers in companies with more than 25,000 employees went from \$8,000 to \$20,000 in that time, which in real dollars is actually a decline in pay.

And the average pay of the big bosses in those companies? That number went from \$326,000 a year to \$3.7 million a year. That is the moral or economic equivalent of rape.

Then I turned on "Morning Edition" on National Public Radio, and a sports commentator named Tim Green was talking about the musical stadium game being played by cities that want National Football League teams. Jacksonville was one of those cities, spending hundreds of millions of taxpayer dollars on a beautiful new stadium and other things for the benefit of the owners of the Jacksonville NFL franchise, the Jaguars. They could have called them the BMWs.

Well, thought I, ordinary fans love it, too — take me out to the ball game, tailgating and all that. Wrong again. Mr. Green, who analyzes

games for the Fox network, went on to say: "I know that a lot of blue-collar people who once could attend the games can no longer do so. This is sad, but you can't fight it. ... Thankfully, the game itself is a great spectacle no matter where it's played, no matter who's sitting in the stands and no matter how much the players are being paid. For untold millions, the game still stands apart from the business."

It does? You could have fooled me, and the blue-collar fans who can no longer afford the spectacle. Good old capitalism! Even in Rome's declining days of bread and circuses, the blue-toga six-pack guys could go to the circus. Our guys not only are not going to sit in corporate sky-boxes in the new stadiums, they are not even going to get to see the boxes where America's elite will be signaling thumbs up and thumbs down on slaves of all colors.

"Maybe we are talking about whether the glass is half-full or half-empty," I said. "I want to believe it's half-full," Mr. Posey said. "But if it is I can see it's still leaking. We're not making anything the world wants."

"Well, airliners," I said. "They're auctioning off the McDonnell Douglas plant here this week," he said. "The jobs there are long gone."

Mr. Posey had the quote of the week recently in the Palm Beach Post. This is what he said: "Unless people are independently wealthy, they're going to work, they're going on welfare or they're going to steal. There are no other alternatives."

Universal Press Syndicate

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1895: Parisian Deaths

PARIS — The sanitary state of Paris is evidently satisfactory, judging from the decreased number of deaths during the forty-seventh week of the year. These amounted to 871, compared to 892, the average number throughout the year. Epidemics have been rare. There were 14 deaths from measles, which is on the decrease; 6 from typhoid fever; 5 from scarlatina; 5 from whooping cough and 5 from diphtheria. There were 13 suicides and 10 violent deaths, 415 marriages and the births of 956 children were registered.

few men in Italy are entirely free from political passion, occurrences such as that of Bologna only foment further provocation. The Government has correctly diagnosed the evil which lies at the root of these political outbreaks, and announced that it will deal severely with the murderers.

1945: Palestine Release

JERUSALEM — Twenty illegal Jewish immigrants captured last week while trying to enter Palestine were released today [Nov. 28] by the government and taken to Jewish settlements. The "immigrants" ranged in age from twelve to twenty-two. The incident precipitated attacks on two coast guard stations over the week end, and riots in which at least nine Jews were killed. The immigrants were mostly from Poland, Rumania and Greece and bore concentration camp numbers tattooed on their arms from Dachau, Auschwitz and Birkenau.

1920: Italians Roused

ROME — The tragic events at Bologna, in which ten were killed and eighty injured, have provoked a general cry of indignation against these frequent encounters between the hot heads of Socialism and Nationalism. Indignation too often takes the form of violence, and as

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Why America Must Act in Bosnia

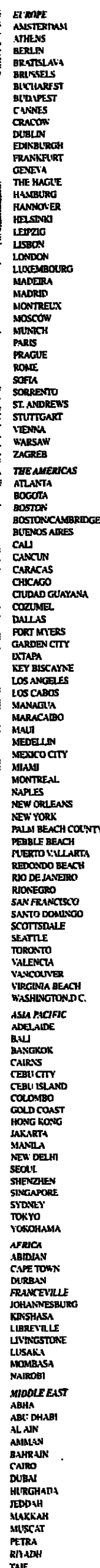
Now is the time to meet it.
The Washington Post.

A Star Simpson Prosecutor Flops on Broadway

In other words, Mr. Darden's show is that rare flop well worth reviving and for the largest possible audience. But to do so, he would not merely have to slash the ticket price; he'd have to do the thoroughly un-American thing of declaring himself that rare 15-minute celebrity whose soul is not for sale.



Based on availability and advance reservations. Some restrictions apply.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

JAD LONG.
Geneva.

'Emmy Göring,' a Black Farce

By Paul Moor
International Herald Tribune

BERLIN — Hitler married only just before his death, so Nazi Germany had no "first lady" until Hitler's right-hand man, Hermann Göring, married Emmy Sonnemann, a lightweight provincial actress. Hitler was their best man. He also proclaimed Emmy Göring the Third Reich's "first lady," and even introduced a form of address — *Hohe Frau* — for her alone.

The young German playwright-director Oliver Reese has dramatized her story in a kind of black farce, "Emmy Göring at the Side of Her Husband," currently a sold-out hit at Berlin's Maxim Gorki Theater.

Reese has adapted his title from the self-serving memoir, "At the Side of My Husband," that Emmy Göring published after World War II.

It attracted little attention, but its serialization financially helped ease her drab existence.

The former *Hohe Frau* was reduced to doing her own shopping alongside other Munich housewives, with butchers and bakers addressing her as mere Frau Göring.

Anna Steffens, in the title role, utters nothing but verbatim excerpts from the book. For Göring's dialogue, Reese has gone back to Göring's own writings and speeches.

Hitler and the early Nazis of the Weimar Republic patronized a café frequented by Emmy Sonnemann and her colleagues, and she met Göring, who was still mourning his first wife, through Hitler.

The Görings had one child, who was named after Benito Mussolini's daughter Edda, and their relationship endured until Göring killed himself, with smuggled cyanide, after the Nuremberg war crimes trials had sentenced him to death.

Steffens, a versatile young actress, gives a bravura performance.

She starts the evening in a flowered frock, her blond braids piled together in a

chignon — the quintessence of young female Germanhood according to Nazi concepts.

From the beginning she stresses her status as a "stage artist" who was "completely unpolitical" when Göring won her heart.

The program contains devastating quotations from post-war autobiographical writings by leading German theatrical lights, all of them, of course, "completely unpolitical" and still proud of it.

One quotation from Gustaf Gründgens, a leading actor during the Third Reich, puts it this way:

"The German actor in general was politically uninterested... German actors share that lack of political education with the entire German people."

When Emmy married, she bade the stage farewell, but not before Göring's favor had brought her engagements opposite Germany's leading stars, including Gründgens.

Gründgens, who was widely known to be a homosexual, for 12 years risked being sent to a

concentration camp, but Göring shielded him. After the war, Gründgens received overdue credit for having skillfully manipulated Göring's admiration in order to help, and even save, some of his colleagues.

Robert Lohr effectively interprets Göring's development from his time as a pilot during World War I until, heavier and heavier, uniforms flashier and flashier, he stands in the middle of the audience bellowing:

"I have no conscience! My conscience is Adolf Hitler!"

Seeing this play in Berlin itself, almost around the corner from the heart of Nazi power (definitely recreated scenically by Hansjörg Hartung and Elina Schmitz) and Hitler's suicide bunker, lends it a unique impact.

This and another play that Reese has written and staged here — based on letters written by the 1960s' child-murderer Jürgen Bartsch — make the 31-year-old playwright a young man to watch.



A scene from "The Threepenny Opera" at the Théâtre National de Chaillot in Paris.

Sophie Seubert/Agfama

LONDON STAGE

O'Neill's 'Elms': Uneasy in Ireland

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Eugene O'Neill's "Desire Under the Elms" (at the Tricycle) is on the move again. First seen on Broadway in 1924, this was the story of Phaedra and Hippolytus transposed to a New England farm of the 1850s. For the new production, Shared Experience brings it further forward, to the Ireland of the 1950s where it sits somewhat uneasily, lurking from the Greeks to Brian Friel in its search for a stylistic resting place.

Yet there is still a terrible beauty here. The story of the old farmer (Jonathan Cullen) who has worked his second wife to death and packed two sons off to California only to have the third start sleeping with his third wife, still has all the inevitability of Greek tragedy and all the strengths of O'Neill's familial fury. But a story of revenge and retribution on this scale somehow sits uneasily even in the backwoods of postwar Ireland.

Polly Teale's production is thoughtful, spare and strong, but it can never quite overcome the mixed inheritance of Euripides and 19th-century American settlers. We really only care about these people as symbols or pawns in an elemental struggle of sex and greed and death. Scarcely do they become recognizable as people in their own right, and we mind that the more somehow if we are in the Ireland of living memory rather than age-old myth.

At the Royal Court Upstairs, Judy Up-

ton's "Bruises" suggests that Worthing is no longer the ideal choice for a happy family holiday by the seashore. Against a backdrop of stacked deckchairs out of season, her world is that of the old bed-and-breakfast hotels that have now become welfare lodgings inhabited by people for whom the only possible language is bodily violence.

Upton has already won a playwrighting award for this bleak domestic-violence drama, and it is not hard to see why. She writes with a raw, despairing strength about a chain of people who are bruised as often as bruising. The bullying father (Ian Redford) beats up his son (Billy Carter) even as he beats up his girlfriend (Stephanie Buttle), and the circle of pain is completed by a vacuous lodger willing to sleep with father and son in return for a little company.

THE glib moral would seem to be get the hell out of there and find a job, but Upton's Irish expatriates have been defeated long before this play begins, by ghosts in the family closet and a culture of unemployment. Seaside resorts out of season have always been a rich area for moviemakers intent on exploring the doomed and the damned, but here we are dealing with a harrowing drama of everyday life. Nobody ever suggests that Upton's people don't exist, don't wound and get wounded; her problem is that precisely because their language is almost exclusively physical and brutal, speeches of explanation or involvement are reduced to grunts of rage or acknowledgement. Yet precisely because she has carved a touch-

ing, moving and finally involving play out of such bleak and ungiving territory, she is beyond question a dramatist to watch.

At the Lyric Hammersmith Studio, Paul Godfrey's "The Modern Husband" is an intriguing revamp of a long-neglected Henry Fielding drama that has been left in period but totally restructured. It now runs less than two hours rather than over three, and what Godfrey has done is cut to the quick of the action about a man who is willing "in this stock-jobbing age" to prostitute his wife in order to stay out of a debtor's prison.

Fielding, soon after this, gave up playwrighting for "Tom Jones," but here as in the novel there is the constant shock of modernity. His world was one where money and class mattered a lot more than virtue or vice, and where gossip was the common currency. As usual the Actors' Touring Company is working on a minimal set with a cast of only five; yet they manage to convey a sense of early 17th-century London in all its hectic, confused immorality.

What Godfrey shows us is Fielding stripped to the bone. Here are no period flourishes, just a cynical acceptance that since time began people will always behave in the way which best suits their moment, and that we only have to spin the stage a little to see apparent vice and virtue from altogether different perspectives. An agile, scene-setting and scene-shifting cast led by Richard Cant and Shelly King in Nick Philippou's production also work in this quick-cut tradition. It is as though a laser has been shot through a very long novel to extract the heart.

From Weill to Marx Brothers

By David Stevens
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The sultry atmosphere of Berlin in the late 1920s has been providing a musical-theatrical background for the social unrest of the Parisian autumn, notably with productions of Brecht and Weill's "Threepenny Opera" and "Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny."

"The Threepenny Opera" is at the Théâtre National de Chaillot, in French as "L'opéra de quat'sous," in an energetic production that comes from the Théâtre de la Manufacture in Nancy.

Its considerable virtue is completeness and faithfulness

to the layout of the original. This extends even to restoring the "Pirate Jenny" song to Polly in the wedding banquet scene, instead of following what might be called the Lotte Lenya tradition of giving it to Jenny in the bordello scene. It puts the song in an entirely different light.

Also included is Lucy's aria, which was cut in the original Berlin production. Isabelle Gossard fought a game but losing struggle with its Handel-like difficulties, but was otherwise a peppy Lucy.

Where Charles Tordjman's production was unfaithful was in letting the social seaminess show too clearly. Mackie's elegance is only a veneer, as is Tiger Brown's official pompos-

ity, but they are necessary facades for the vulgarity that should not show too clearly. That said, Daniel Martin as Mackie and Jean-Claude Leguay as Police Chief Brown (also as the street singer and the queen's rider) brought plenty of vigor to their roles, and Isabelle Mazin hid Polly's toughness in an innocent demeanor.

The entrance of "Mahagonny" into the repertoire of the Paris Opéra was not a particularly happy one, due in large part to the inhospitable vastness of the Bastille stage.

Graham Vick's stage was overpopulated, perhaps in an effort to fill the available space, with the result that Leocadia Begbick (Trudie Schmidt) and Jenny (Marie McLaughlin) were lost in the crowd much of the time, although Kim Begley as Jim Mahoney made it through with his substantial tenor.

A redeeming element was the brisk, hard-edged performance of the orchestra under Jeffrey Tate's alert direction.

A chance to see the newly reissued G.W. Pabst "Threepenny Opera" movie supplies more than a footnote to the stage work. Made two years after the 1928 premiere to take advantage of the enormous popularity of the stage piece, it turned out to be anything but a remake.

Brecht was hired as scenarist, but he had become much more Marxist in the meantime and set about writing a new ending, although he had to go to court to do it. In the film's ending, Polly engineers a bank takeover, Mackie becomes its president — while little of Weill's music is used and that out of order. But Lenya got to sing the "Pirate Jenny."

It was about this time that Arnold Schoenberg wrote his "Begleitmusik zu einer Lichtspielszene" (Musical Accompaniment for a Film Scene). But

the film was nonexistent, except that the composer supplied its imaginary, angst-laden content in few words, progressing from "threatening danger" to "fear" to "catastrophe" in less than 10 minutes.

At the Théâtre du Châtelet, the Théâtre de la Monnaie of Brussels brought a triple-bill in which this music forms the centerpiece, in an unlikely pairing with the famous scene of the overcrowded stateroom in the Marx brothers' "A Night at the Opera."

This is preceded by "Erwartung," the one-character opera in which a woman wanders through a forest, finds the corpse of her lover and gives vent to jealous anguish. Klaus Michael Gruber staged it simply in front a bosky curtain by Gilles Aillaud through which a moon glows darkly, and Anja Silja sang the long solo part with immense security and feeling.

The third part was a ballet by Anne Teresa de Keersmaecker set to the early "Transfigured Night," a quasi-Wagnerian tone poem that nevertheless has a literary program, based on a poem by Richard Dehmel. A woman admits to her lover that she is pregnant by another man, but he is very accepting of the situation.

That may or may not have something to do with the beautifully fluid dance, set this time at the edge of a three-dimensional forest, and which was both highly kinetic and highly sensual.

Antonio Pappano was the committed conductor for all three works, played without an intermission. Although the three pieces were composed at different times, they are united by the expressive intensity of Schoenberg's musical thought and made a strangely effective three-in-one program.

Still, it would have been interesting to be present when the production team decided on the "conception" of pairing Schoenberg and the Marx brothers.

BEST SELLERS

The New York Times
This list is based on reports from more than 2,000 bookstores throughout the United States. Weeks on list are not necessarily consecutive.

FICTION

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| 2 THE CHRISTMAS BOX, by Richard Paul Evans | 5 | 4 |
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| 6 THE HUNDRED SECRET SENSES, by Amy Tan | 3 | 4 |
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| 11 THE ISLAND OF THE DAY BEFORE, by Umberto Eco | 12 | 2 |
| 12 COMING HOME, by Rosamunde Pilcher | 10 | 12 |
| 13 LOVE IN ANOTHER TOWN, by Barbara Taylor Bradford | 15 | 3 |
| 14 BEACH MUSIC, by Pat Conroy | 14 | 20 |
| 15 DRAGONS OF SUMMER FLAME, by Margaret Weis and Tracy Hickman | 1 | 1 |

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| | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
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|---------------------------------|---|---|

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|---|----|-----|
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| 3 CHARLES KURLAIT'S AMERICA, by Charles Kurlait | 2 | 4 |
| 4 EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE, by Daniel Goleman | 3 | 8 |
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BOOKS

DON'T DIE BEFORE YOU'RE DEAD

By Yevgeny Yevtushenko. Translated by Antonina W. Bouis. 415 pages. \$25. Random House.

Reviewed by Anthony Olcott

NEAR the end of this entertaining and unsettling book Yevgeny Yevtushenko tells of his outrage in 1972, when Soviet border guards confiscated 124 "forbidden" books he had collected while in the United States. The anecdote captures not only the "riddle within a mystery" that long has been Yevtushenko, a poet and Soviet-era liberal, but also the much darker and more slippery enigma of Russia itself, with which Yevtushenko tries to wrestle in this autobiographical novel.

On one level, Yevtushenko's complaint about the books seems hubristic, bathetic. In 1972 Russians went to America and Americans went to the moon in approximately equal numbers. To be sure, Yevtushenko was among those few "Americans" because of his genuine talent as a poet; equally important though was Yevtushenko's talent for speaking out just daringly enough to be embraced by the West, yet rarely so daringly as to stumble beyond the grace of Moscow's ideologues.

In another way, though, Yevtushenko's

complaint is wholly just — no sane or normal country would require grown men and women to beg the permission of border guards in order to import a few books.

Yevtushenko would very much like "Don't Die Before You're Dead" to be the story of how in August 1991 the ordinary people of Russia finally stood up to the book-snatchers and border-closers. Ringed around their White House, defending their infant democracy against an assault that, mercifully, never came, the simple citizens of Moscow — and the not-so-simple ones too, like Yevtushenko — put aside a lifetime of fear, in countless acts of civic bravery that this quasi-novel would like to re-create and celebrate.

However, both this book and Yevtushenko act much like witnesses who are only 95 percent convinced that they have properly understood what they saw; gnawed by that 5 percent of sinister uncertainty, "Don't Die Before You're Dead" twitches and thrashes, taking the form now of detective story, now of autobiography, now even of poetry, as Yevtushenko tries to satisfy himself that the events of 1991 were really the birth of a new Russia and not simply the screen behind which the powerful of old Russia slipped out of Marx and into Giorgio Armani.

It is the novelistic parts of "Don't Die Before You're Dead" that make plain the

human cost of old Russia, and so the danger of an unchanged new Russia. The novel's fictional characters illustrate lyrical and moving stories of lost loves, missed opportunities and lives buckled beneath the pressure of constant fear. Hundreds of these people came together on the barricades around the White House, where for a few days in August 1991 they demanded successfully to be in control of their own country, and their own lives.

Unfortunately, when it comes to deciding whether the attempted coup and the democracy it spawned are real or, as he fears, simply a piece of elaborate theater meant to benefit the powerful few and confuse the suffering many, Yevtushenko hedges, stranding his most disturbing speculations somewhere between fact and fiction.

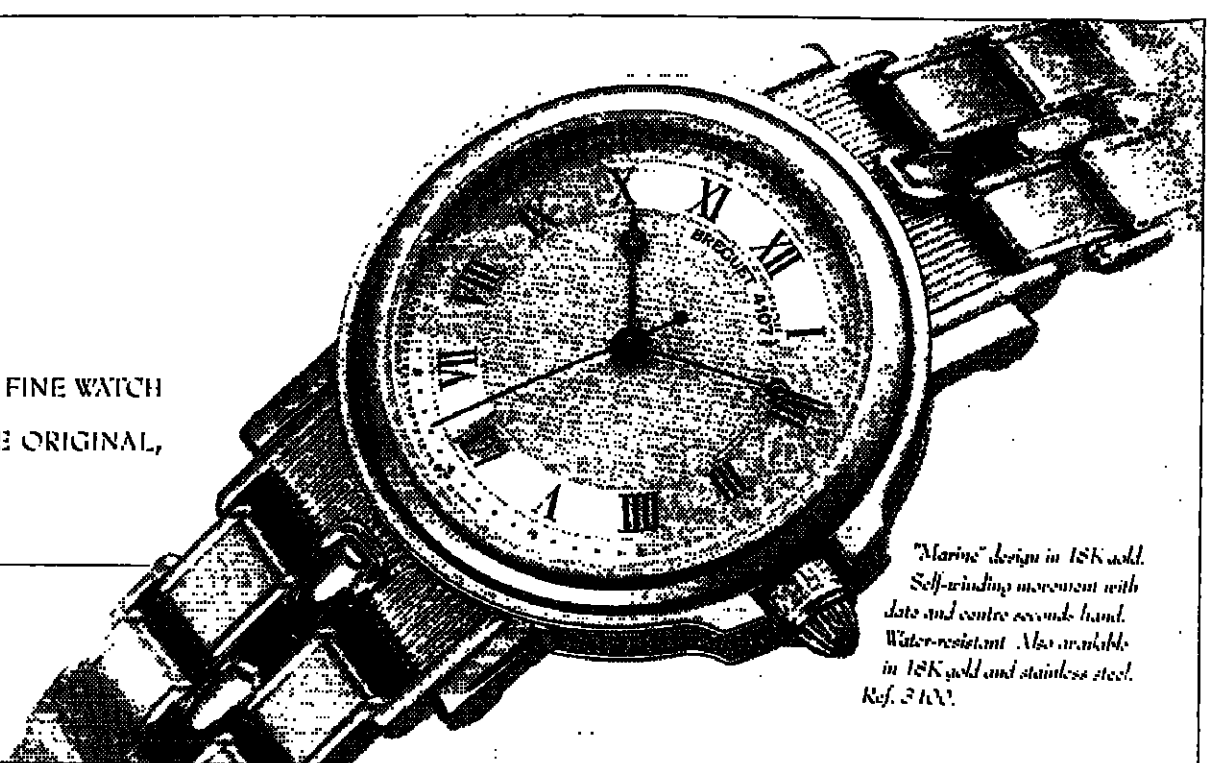
Yevtushenko's frank discussion of his lifelong fear makes it difficult to condemn his preference for not demanding stricter accountability from his country's new leaders, who in Yevtushenko's own words have now left Russia "nowhere — between the past and the future." The book also makes clear, however, that the price of such diffidence is that Yevtushenko remains in danger of someday having once again to defend the contents of his suitcases.

Anthony Olcott, a teacher at Colgate University, wrote this for The Washington Post.

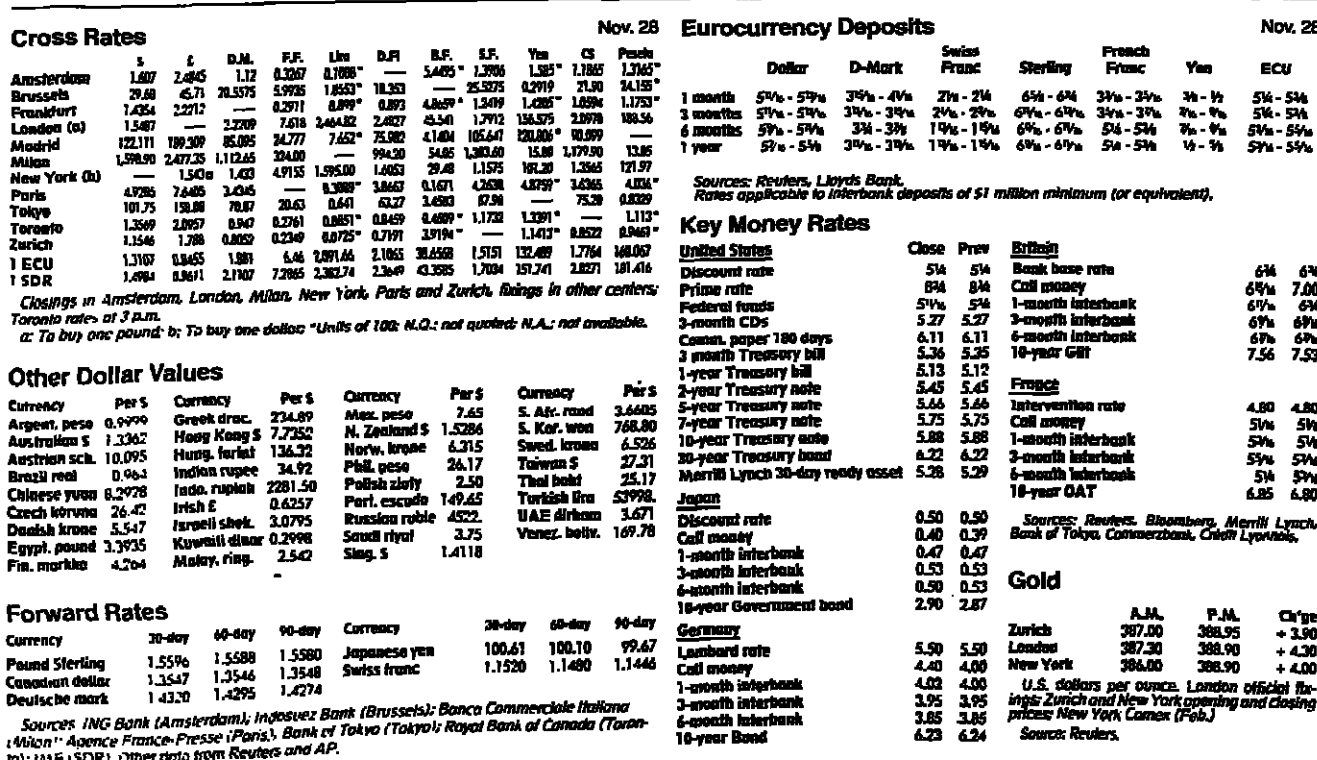
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EUROPE

ENI Shares Get Wary Reception In Milan Market

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

MILAN — The state energy concern Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi SpA started trading shares Tuesday in Milan, London and New York amid signs the Treasury had ordered brokers to buy stock to prevent it from sinking below its offering price to investors.

The shares closed at 5,250 lire (\$3.30) in Milan, unchanged from the offering price.

The government has offered around 15 percent of ENI, Europe's fourth-largest oil company, for private ownership in the biggest placement in Italian stock exchange history and the world's largest offer this year.

Franco Bernabe, the chairman of ENI, said that he considered the placement a success in the face of unfavorable market conditions.

"The combination of falling share prices and a very difficult political situation have not prevented us from carrying out the biggest cash offer ever realized internationally," he said.

But brokers said the Milan brokerage company Sigeo Sim had stepped in to support ENI's stock, putting in bids for around 70 million shares.

Sigeo is the brokerage arm of the Italian finance concern

Istituto Mobiliare Italiano SpA, which was appointed by the Treasury to coordinate the ENI share placement along with Credit Suisse First Boston.

Brokers in Milan said CSFB also appeared to be supporting ENI's price in London.

The placement has made ENI the largest stock on the Milan stock exchange, with a capitalization of 42 trillion lire.

Mr. Bernabe said the sale had resulted in 1.2 billion shares being placed, two-thirds of them with institutional investors and the rest with the Italian investing public.

The offer has grossed 6.3 trillion lire for the treasury.

The ENI offer had a lukewarm reception from Italian small investors, who had been badly stung by earlier privatizations of two banks, Credito Italiano SpA and Banca Commerciale Italiana SpA.

The government hopes to sell 80 percent of ENEL SpA, a utility, by March.

Mr. Bernabe said no plans were being discussed to sell an additional stake in ENI.

According to the offering's prospectus, the government must wait at least nine months before selling more of the company.

(Reuters, Bloomberg)

Inflation Gnaws at East Labor Group Says Wage-Earners Suffer

By Alan Krauss
Special to the Herald Tribune

BUDAPEST — Anti-inflation measures in formerly Communist countries that have cut average pay levels by more than half since 1990 have made wage-earners the victims of economic reform, according to the International Labor Organization.

Health and education workers have been hit hardest, ILO economists say, as average inflation-adjusted wages plunged as much as 60 percent — in Russia and Ukraine — and by smaller amounts elsewhere. Russian health-care workers today earn only about half the nationwide average of about \$80 a month, while in Bulgaria, health workers are paid 25 percent of the \$70-a-month national average. Prices of energy, food and other necessities, meanwhile, have climbed steadily.

The ILO, a UN group, said it would present evidence of what it called the destructive social and economic consequences of restrictive wage policies in Russia and its former satellites at a three-day symposium here that begins Wednesday.

Labor ministers from nine countries in the region, along with union and employer representatives, will debate wage and income policies at the conference, which is also sponsored by the European Commission.

Severe restrictions on wage growth were adopted throughout Central and Eastern Europe after the fall of Communist regimes to curb inflation as price controls were lifted.

The policies were patterned on Western economic models in which wages are viewed as a major component of production costs, said Daniel Vaughan-Whitehead, an economist with

the ILO's Central and Eastern European Team and organizer of the Budapest conference.

"But in the former Communist countries, wages were very low compared with Western economies," he said.

"They were not the main part of production costs. Wage controls therefore failed to control inflation, because wages were not the main component of inflation here."

It was caused instead by rises in material and energy costs. Both skyrocketed as free-market reforms were introduced, meaning that in Ukraine, for example, where real wages fell 70 percent from 1990 to 1994, consumers faced inflation that ran to 10,000 percent in 1993 alone.

Falling real wages had a number of unpleasant side effects, according to ILO researchers, including declines both in labor productivity and in consumption as households spent more money on food and less on culture and education.

Organizers said discussions at the Budapest conference would focus on alternative policy proposals such as indexing wages to inflation and augmenting them through productivity gains. They will recommend raising minimum wages to reflect the cost of living as measured by a basket of elementary goods and services and severing links between minimum wages and social benefits.

Others said the goals were admirable but suggested the ILO's findings were unlikely to trigger radical policy shifts.

Labor-related troubles in the former Communist countries "are not just a problem of wages," said György Mohai, an economist who heads Creditanstalt Securities Ltd.'s research department in Budapest.

Outlook For Wolters Weighs on Share Price

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

AMSTERDAM — Shares in Wolters Kluwer NV fell 6.4 percent after the Dutch publisher said Tuesday its proposed acquisition of CCH Inc. would keep next year's per-share earnings unchanged.

Wolters Kluwer's stock fell 9.60 guilders, to 140.90 (\$87.68).

"I am afraid people got scared because of the size and the announcement of no growth in earnings per share next year," said Huib J. Kortbeek, an analyst with Deutsche Morgan Grenfell.

The acquisition of CCH, a U.S. publisher of information on tax and business law, for \$1.9 billion would increase Wolters Kluwer's annual sales by 25 percent, to more than \$2.4 billion, and make it a leading legal publisher.

Some analysts found the price excessive, especially because the purchase would keep 1996 earnings per share level with 1995 at 6.70 guilders because of the effects of writing down goodwill on the purchase, it said.

"If there hadn't been an acquisition, earnings per share would have grown by 15 percent as usual," said Paul Schram, an analyst at Bangert, Pontier & Partners BV.

Investors were also surprised by the price of more than three times CCH's annual sales of \$578 million, analysts said.

Herman Huizinga of Theodor Gijssels Bankiers said, "To let EPS grow still for a year because of an acquisition that costs 40 times the company's earnings is a violation of investor confidence, in my view."

But others saw the acquisition as a positive long-term strategic move for the publishing group.

"Wolters Kluwer saw their opportunity and grabbed it," said Wijnand Heineken, an analyst at MeesPierson NV. "It is the biggest acquisition Wolters has ever done and will make them the world's largest legal publisher." (Bloomberg, AFP)

| Investor's Europe | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------|--|--|
| Frankfurt DAX | London FTSE 100 Index | Paris CAC 40 | | |
| 2300 | 3700 | 2000 | | |
| 2250 | 3600 | 1950 | | |
| 2200 | 3500 | 1900 | | |
| 2150 | 3400 | 1850 | | |
| 2100 | 3300 | 1800 | | |
| 2050 | 3200 | 1750 | | |
| 2000 | 3100 | 1700 | | |
| 1950 | 3000 | 1650 | | |
| 1900 | 2900 | 1600 | | |
| 1850 | 2800 | 1550 | | |
| 1800 | 2700 | 1500 | | |
| 1750 | 2600 | 1450 | | |
| 1700 | 2500 | 1400 | | |
| 1650 | 2400 | 1350 | | |
| 1600 | 2300 | 1300 | | |
| 1550 | 2200 | 1250 | | |
| 1500 | 2100 | 1200 | | |
| 1450 | 2000 | 1150 | | |
| 1400 | 1900 | 1100 | | |
| 1350 | 1800 | 1050 | | |
| 1300 | 1700 | 1000 | | |
| 1250 | 1600 | 950 | | |
| 1200 | 1500 | 900 | | |
| 1150 | 1400 | 850 | | |
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Very briefly:

- Union Bank of Switzerland's chief executive, Robert Studer, said he did not know whether the bank would achieve its goal of higher earnings than its net profit of 1.61 billion francs (\$1.4 billion) in 1994.
- Reuters NewMedia Inc. bought a 2.5 percent stake in Yahoo Corp., which offers information over the Internet, as part of its plan to increase supply of information to markets outside the securities industry.
- Carlsberg AS said its full-year net profit rose 22 percent, to 1.08 billion kroner (\$194.4 million), as investment gains and a rise in sales by subsidiaries offset a decline at its Carlsberg-Tetley PLC unit. Sales rose 0.9 percent, to 17.08 billion kroner.
- Volvo AB is considering ways to reduce its vulnerability to currency fluctuations, the chief executive, Soren Gyll, said. Options he listed include buying more components in the United States or building a car factory there.
- Hapag-Lloyd AG forecast that a surge in tourism and shipping this year would yield at least a 28 percent increase in operating profit, to 250 million Deutsche marks (\$175.7 million).
- France decided to delay the unveiling of its tax reform package to later in the first quarter of next year. The plan was to be announced in January. A government spokesman blamed the delay on "technical reasons."
- Canal Plus SA is leading a consortium of French television interests that has linked with the U.S. cable operator Telecommunications International Inc. to create a cable and satellite entity, Multimedias, to sell special-interest programs, particularly in Japan and Latin America.
- The Czech Republic became the 26th member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- Anheuser-Busch Cos. offered to pay \$200 million and make large purchases of Czech hops to gain the right to sell its beer under the Bud brand name, according to a Prague newspaper.

Bloomberg, AFP, Reuters Knight-Ridder

Bertelsmann to Go On Line in Venture

Reuters

HAMBURG — The publishing and media group Bertelsmann AG said Tuesday it had launched a joint venture in on-line services with the U.S.-based America Online Inc.

The service, called AOL Europa, is to offer on-screen access to Bertelsmann publications, numerous media providers, global data networks and 4 million America Online users. It will aim for 1 million European subscribers by 2000, said Bernd Schipphorst, the venture's chief executive.

Russia Reins In Shares-for-Loans Plan

Reuters

MOSCOW — In a setback to its controversial shares-for-loans program, Russia on Tuesday canceled a sale of shares in an oil exporter held this month and withdrew three defense companies from a list of candidates to be privatized.

The State Property Committee, Russia's privatization ministry, canceled the result of an auction of 15 percent of the oil exporter Nafta-Moskva, said Igor Plotnikov, a spokesman. Yevrosensury, the investment company that won the auction Nov. 17 by offering the government a loan of \$35.6 million, had not guaranteed the credit, Mr. Plotnikov said.

"The winning company failed to guarantee the fulfillment of its obligations," he said. The auction is scheduled to be repeated Dec. 28.

The committee also withdrew three

aerospace companies from a series of auctions scheduled for Dec. 7.

The government had planned to offer 12 percent of the aerospace design firm OKB Imeni Sukhovo and stakes in two helicopter makers — 6.5 percent of Ulan-Udenyevskoye Aviatsonnoye Proizvodstvennoye Ob'yediniyeniye and 10 percent of Arsenyevskaya Aviatsionnaya Progress.

Mr. Plotnikov gave no reason for the decision to remove the aerospace companies from the program, but it appeared to be in response to calls from both houses of Parliament to suspend auctions of shares in strategic companies.

The decisions further reduced the likelihood that the Russia would receive the 8.7 trillion rubles (\$1.92 billion) it had expected from privatizations this year.

The program was supposed to generate 3 trillion rubles of that amount but has so far

raised only about a third of that sum.

With parliamentary elections less than three weeks away, the plan has come under fire from deputies who have argued that companies were being sold off too cheaply and that foreigners were snapping up strategic firms, although foreigners have been barred from many sales.

Under the plan, companies bid to manage state-owned shares in privatized companies in return for credits to the government. If the government does not repay the loan in a timely fashion, the shares can later be sold.

The idea is to make privatization revenue available to the government now, without dumping huge amounts of shares on Russia's fragile stock market. But the rules of the program have been repeatedly changed, and the rights of companies managing shares under trust have been restricted.

AMEX

Tuesday's 4 p.m. Close

The top 500 most active shares, up to the closing on Wall Street.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average

3000.00

Change: +10.00

High: 3010.00

Low: 2990.00

Open: 2990.00

Close: 3000.00

Volume: 100,000,000

High: 3010.00

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Close: 3000.00

Volume: 100,000,000

High: 3010.00

Low: 2990.00

Open: 2990.00

Close: 3000.00

U.S. STOCK MARKET DIARY

Nov. 28, 1995

High Low Close Open

Grains

Wheat 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Barley 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Oats 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Rice 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Soybeans 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Beans 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Peas 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Lentils 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Mustard 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Saffron 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Spices 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Herbs 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Flowers 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Seeds 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Grains 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

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Spices 124.00 123.00 124.00 123.00

Herbs 124.00 123.00 12

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the integrity of the financial system and for the ability to detect and prevent fraud. The document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data, including the use of computerized databases and statistical software. It also discusses the challenges of dealing with large volumes of data and the need for efficient data management systems.

2. The second part of the document focuses on the role of the auditor in ensuring the accuracy of the financial statements. It describes the various procedures used by auditors to verify the information provided by the company, including the use of sampling techniques and the examination of supporting documents. The document also discusses the importance of maintaining independence and objectivity in the audit process and the need for auditors to adhere to strict ethical standards.

3. The third part of the document discusses the role of the management in ensuring the accuracy of the financial statements. It describes the various procedures used by management to verify the information provided by the company, including the use of internal controls and the review of financial statements. The document also discusses the importance of maintaining transparency and accountability in the financial reporting process and the need for management to adhere to strict ethical standards.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the role of the regulatory bodies in ensuring the accuracy of the financial statements. It describes the various procedures used by regulatory bodies to monitor the financial reporting process, including the use of audits and the review of financial statements. The document also discusses the importance of maintaining transparency and accountability in the financial reporting process and the need for regulatory bodies to adhere to strict ethical standards.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the role of the investors in ensuring the accuracy of the financial statements. It describes the various procedures used by investors to verify the information provided by the company, including the use of financial analysis and the review of financial statements. The document also discusses the importance of maintaining transparency and accountability in the financial reporting process and the need for investors to adhere to strict ethical standards.

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ASIA/PACIFIC

Chip Boom Spurs Profits at NEC And Mitsubishi

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — NEC Corp. and Mitsubishi Electric Corp. said Tuesday that booming sales of semiconductors had led to higher first-half profits on their global operations and should mean higher earnings for the full year as well.

Mitsubishi Electric, however, raised concern that a flood of investment in new facilities by chipmakers could begin weighing on global semiconductor prices in the middle of the next financial year, which begins April 1, 1996.

NEC's consolidated net income jumped 78 percent, to 20.24 billion yen (\$199 million) in the six months ended Sept. 30, and sales climbed 10.4 percent, to 1.922 trillion yen. Earnings per share rose to 13.10 yen from 7.36 yen a year earlier.

Mitsubishi Electric's consolidated net was 21 percent higher, at 25.2 billion yen, as sales rose 5 percent to 1.603 trillion yen. Earnings per share climbed to 10.97 yen from 9.12 yen.

NEC is Japan's leading computer-chip maker, and Mitsubishi Electric is one of the five largest makers. NEC is also Japan's largest manufacturer of personal computers.

"Demand for semiconductors was quite strong amid the global boom in personal computers and mobile communications equipment," said Yoshihiro Suzuki, NEC's executive vice president.

Masatoshi Umeda, a managing director for Mitsubishi

Electric, said chip prices could fall next year. Mitsubishi Electric and NEC are among a flock of companies planning to invest in new production capacity.

Many analysts have predicted that global computer-chip sales will continue gaining through the end of the decade. Globally, the market should more than double to \$331 billion in 2000 from \$149 billion this year, according to a recent report by the U.S.-based research firm Dataquest Inc.

Both NEC and Mitsubishi Electric said they had raised their profit forecasts for the year ending March 31.

(Bloomberg, Reuters)

Nikkei Gets a Lift

The Nikkei Stock Average rose to a 10-week high as a stable U.S. dollar boosted technology and steel shares and hints of a solution to the problems of Japan's housing-loan companies lifted banking issues.

Bloomberg Business News reported.

"There's still a trend toward buying electricals, especially on the back of moves in New York," said Peter Boyce, a Japanese-equities trader at James Capel Securities.

Led by shares of the semiconductor maker Nikon Corp. and Bank of Tokyo Ltd., the Nikkei 225 average rose 145.28 points, or 0.78 percent, to close at 18,688.42 points, its highest level since Sept. 18. Advancing issues led declines by almost a 2-to-1 ratio.

CRA Stokes Up for Battle Firm Aims to Break Coal Unions' Power

Bloomberg Business News

SYDNEY — In just three years, CRA Ltd. has broken labor unions' decades-old grip on its iron-ore mines. Now it's trying to do the same at its coal mines.

While the resulting profit could run into tens of millions of dollars a year, the task will be a lot harder, and the risks are huge: A strike against the coal industry could cost Australia \$20 million a day in export earnings, send the Australian dollar plummeting and cause Japanese and South Korean steel plants — major coal customers — to cut production.

"I don't think you could de-unionize the coal industry if you take the unions head-on," said John Colman, a mining analyst at Shaw Stockbroking in Sydney. "The Australian economy is so reliant on coal exports, it's enormous."

Coal holds a unique position in Australia's economy. It earns the country 8.2 billion Australian dollars (\$6.1 billion) a year from exports. Australia dominates world trade in seaborne coal. The prices Australian coal producers charge Japanese consumers are industry benchmarks, largely determining prices around the world.

Yet CRA has a lot to gain. In the iron business, switching the miners from hourly wages to monthly salaries — showing the union aside in the process — has brought more productivity and record profit. The workers earn more, too, CRA says — about 7,000 dollars more annually than the average iron miner, who makes about 50,000 dollars a year.

CRA even broke the tightest union at its ports by selling the boats and signing nonunion contracts with the new owners. That means CRA's iron ore moves steadily out of its ports, even if the rest of Australia's harbors are shut down.

CRA is leading the charge against the mining unions, which like most Australian unions are shrinking. Union membership has fallen from almost 70 percent of the work force after World War II to about 30 percent now.

Since the beginning of 1991, CRA stock has more than doubled, from 8.92 dollars when it began its anti-union push, to more than 21 dollars now. If CRA can win in the coal

business, "there is even more upside than in the iron ore mines," Mr. Colman said.

But that's a big "if." Breaking the coal miners' union would be the beginning of the end for the mining unions, so they are likely to fight hard. The coal miners are tough-spirited, better paid than the iron miners and well organized.

"Once people are in the industry, we make sure they are looked after," said John Maitland, joint national president of the Construction Forestry Mining and Electrical Union, the coal miners' union. "How many people wouldn't want to move into an industry and earn an average of 1,300 dollars to 1,400 dollars a week? If you advertised the jobs, you would get knocked down in the rush."

It wasn't always that way. Militancy in the coal mining industry was born of terrible working conditions in the early 1900s and the autocratic rule of some mine owners.

These days, however, the strong-arm stuff doesn't work as well. CRA is promising workers more money in return for more productivity. "It's just good business sense — there's nothing magical about it," said Ian Head, a CRA spokesman.

"All the indicators we have when we put workers on contract are that we are getting very rapid and very measurable improvements in performance."

But CRA is proceeding cautiously with the coal miners. It has taken a small whack at the union at its Vickers mine in New South Wales, where it said the closed shop discriminated against women. It got the union to agree to let more women join.

The big fight is likely to be hard and long, however. If it cuts into coal exports, it would hurt the Australian economy and currency, not to mention putting a big dent in Japanese and Korean steel production.

For now, CRA says it won't amass a blitzkrieg-type attack against the coal miners. "We are going to be in business for a long time," said Mr. Head, the company's spokesman. "It doesn't matter if it's this year or next year or the year after."

Reliance May Delist In Bombay

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BOMBAY — Reliance Industries Ltd., the largest private company in India, said Tuesday it might remove its listing from the Bombay Stock Exchange.

The news sent shudders through the market, and the Sensitive Index closed down 63.06 points, at 2,960.22.

"There was panic selling in the market," one dealer said. "Reliance has threatened to delist from BSE, but what about the investors?"

Reliance Industries shares, which account for 10 percent of the Sensitive Index, fell 10.5 rupees, to 209 (\$6.13).

Reliance Industries is in a dispute with the exchange over the issuance of duplicate shares that led to a three-day suspension of its stock. The company has denied any wrongdoing.

"The company is considering various options including delisting," a spokesman for the petrochemicals and textiles concern said.

The company said delisting would not mean its stock would stop trading on the exchange. India's largest, but that the company would not be answerable to the exchange's board. But the executive director of the exchange, R.C. Mathur, said the company must obey the rules.

Reliance Industries shares also trade on the year-old National Stock Exchange.

A newspaper report said three other Reliance companies were considering delisting. They are Reliance Petroleum Ltd., Reliance Capital Ltd. and Reliance Industrial Infrastructure Ltd.

The exchange suspended Reliance Industries shares for three days last week to punish the company for wrongly issuing replacement share certificates.

(Bloomberg, Reuters)

Firm Bullish on India

Goldman, Sachs & Co. said it planned private equity placements worth several hundred million dollars in unlisted companies in India over the next five years, Reuters reported.

Executives of the firm said stocks and private placements were attractive investments as India's economy opened.

Investor's Asia

| Hong Kong Hang Seng | Singapore Straits Times | Tokyo Nikkei 225 |
|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| 10000 | 2300 | 20000 |
| 9517 | 2200 | 18000 |
| 9033 | 2100 | 16000 |
| 8550 | 2000 | 14000 |
| 8000 | 1900 | 12000 |
| 7500 | 1800 | 10000 |
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| 5500 | 1400 | 2000 |
| 5000 | 1300 | 1000 |
| 4500 | 1200 | 500 |
| 4000 | 1100 | 200 |
| 3500 | 1000 | 100 |
| 3000 | 900 | 50 |
| 2500 | 800 | 20 |
| 2000 | 700 | 10 |
| 1500 | 600 | 5 |
| 1000 | 500 | 2 |
| 500 | 400 | 1 |
| 0 | 300 | 0 |

Source: Reuters

Very briefly:

- Acer Inc. of Taiwan raised its forecast of 1995 net profit by 34 percent, to 5.5 billion Taiwan dollars (\$301.4 million), because of strong sales of personal computers. Acer earned a record 3.1 billion dollars in 1994.
- The Islamic Development Bank approved \$222 million in loans for 20 member countries and seven Muslim communities in nonmember countries.
- Victor Co. of Japan Ltd. plans to raise its stake to 80 percent from 40 percent in Hughes JVC Technology, a joint venture between JVC and Hughes Aircraft Co., a unit of General Motors Corp., and transfer some production to Japan from California.
- Standard & Poor's Corp. will lower ratings on the commercial paper of two subsidiaries of Pioneer Electronic Corp. of Japan; the credit-rating concern cited the parent company's weakening ability to return to profit.
- Rolls-Royce PLC invested \$20 million in setting up a joint venture in the aerospace-overhaul business in Hong Kong with Haeco, a unit of Swire Pacific Ltd.
- Komatsu Ltd. plans to focus more on Asian markets, especially China. The construction-equipment maker said it had also made progress in setting up joint ventures in Russia, where demand for bulldozers is growing.
- The China Daily said traders were buying foreign cars and storing them in bonded warehouses in anticipation of tariff cuts to take effect in China in 1996.
- The Philippines is on track to achieve "a very good growth rate" for 1995 but must raise its savings rate to finance expansion and pursue policy reforms to cushion it from external shocks, the International Monetary Fund said. Manila has forecast full-year gross national product growth of as much as 6.5 percent.
- Vietnam reported inflation of 13.8 percent for the year ended Saturday, a figure below the government's target rate for the first time this year, according to official statistics.

AP, AFP, AFX, Bloomberg, Knight-Ridder, Reuters

Jobless Rate in Japan Remains at Record High

Bloomberg Business News

TOKYO — The government said Tuesday that unemployment was at a record high of 3.2 percent for a fifth consecutive month in October, bolstering the view that the country's economic ills are far from over.

The greatest job losses came, as they have for months, at manufacturing companies and among young people and middle-aged men, the government said. About 5.6 percent of adults under age 25 were without jobs, while 4.8 percent of men between 55 and 64 were unemployed.

Tokyo said manufacturers were cutting costs to offset weak demand, falling prices and the still-strong yen. Small manufacturers unable to cope were going out of business, forcing workers out of jobs.

Compared with the like month a year earlier, about 430,000 manufacturing jobs were lost, a decline of 2.8 percent, to 14.69 million. Agriculture lost about 110,000 workers.

PAPER: A Family Saga Lies Behind Big Changes at the L.A. Times

Continued from Page 13

Diego, said in a recent interview. "We were frustrated with the paper's slant, but it was always talk. There was never a plan to do anything about it. If a newspaper is supposed to reflect the opinions of its owners, it hasn't."

Now, he insisted, that is changing.

"We just want the paper brought back to the center, and I think you've seen less extreme positions already," Mr. Chandler said. "The family feelings were made known to both Willes and Ebert, that we simply weren't going to tolerate this stuff any more."

After suffering through five years of costly mistakes and weak earnings — Times Mirror had a \$67 million loss in 1992, and its return on equity last year was 9.5 percent, compared with

an industry average of 14.5 percent — the company has undertaken cutbacks, layoffs and the summary closing of some operations such as New York Newsday. The company said the cost-cutting moves would result in \$540 million in after-tax charges this year.

The Chandlers still control nearly 60 percent of Times Mirror's voting stock and four seats on the 15-member board, including one held by Bruce Chandler, another of Philip's four children. But no Chandler has held a senior executive position since Otis stepped down as publisher of the Times in 1980 and as chairman of Times Mirror in the mid-1980s.

Otis Chandler's only attempt to place a family member in contention for a top job ended 15 years ago when his eldest son, Norman, suffered a brain tumor.

Chinese Rocket Launches AsiaSat-2

Reuters

HONG KONG — A Long March 2E rocket carrying an Asian communications satellite was launched successfully Tuesday from a site in southwestern China, a satellite-company executive said in Hong Kong.

The \$200 million AsiaSat-2 was the first commercial satellite sent up from China's main launch center in Xichang, Sichuan Province, since an Apstar satellite aboard a Long March 2E exploded in January.

"We are very pleased to announce the successful injection of AsiaSat-2 into the low-earth orbit and the successful separation of the rocket and payload," said Peter Jackson, chief

executive of Asia Satellite Telecommunications Co. AsiaSat executives admitted they had had significant worries before the launch because of the January explosion. The launch had been postponed twice, resulting in a nine-month delay.

China and Hughes Space & Communications Inc., maker of the Apstar satellite, blamed wind shear for the explosion 50 seconds after liftoff.

Unlike the Apstar launch attempt, which was broadcast live on Chinese television, the launch Tuesday was kept quiet.

AsiaSat executives tracking it in Hong Kong had to telephone Xichang for news. It will be several days before the

AsiaSat-2 launch, which is being tracked from the Alpha Telemetry Tracking and Control Station in New Jersey, is fully completed and formally declared a success or failure.

AsiaSat said the Chinese rocket maker, Great Wall Industry Corp., had strengthened the fairing, or nose section, of the Long March 2E ahead of the launch.

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The 1,000 most-traded National Market securities in terms of dollar value, updated twice a year
The Associated Press.

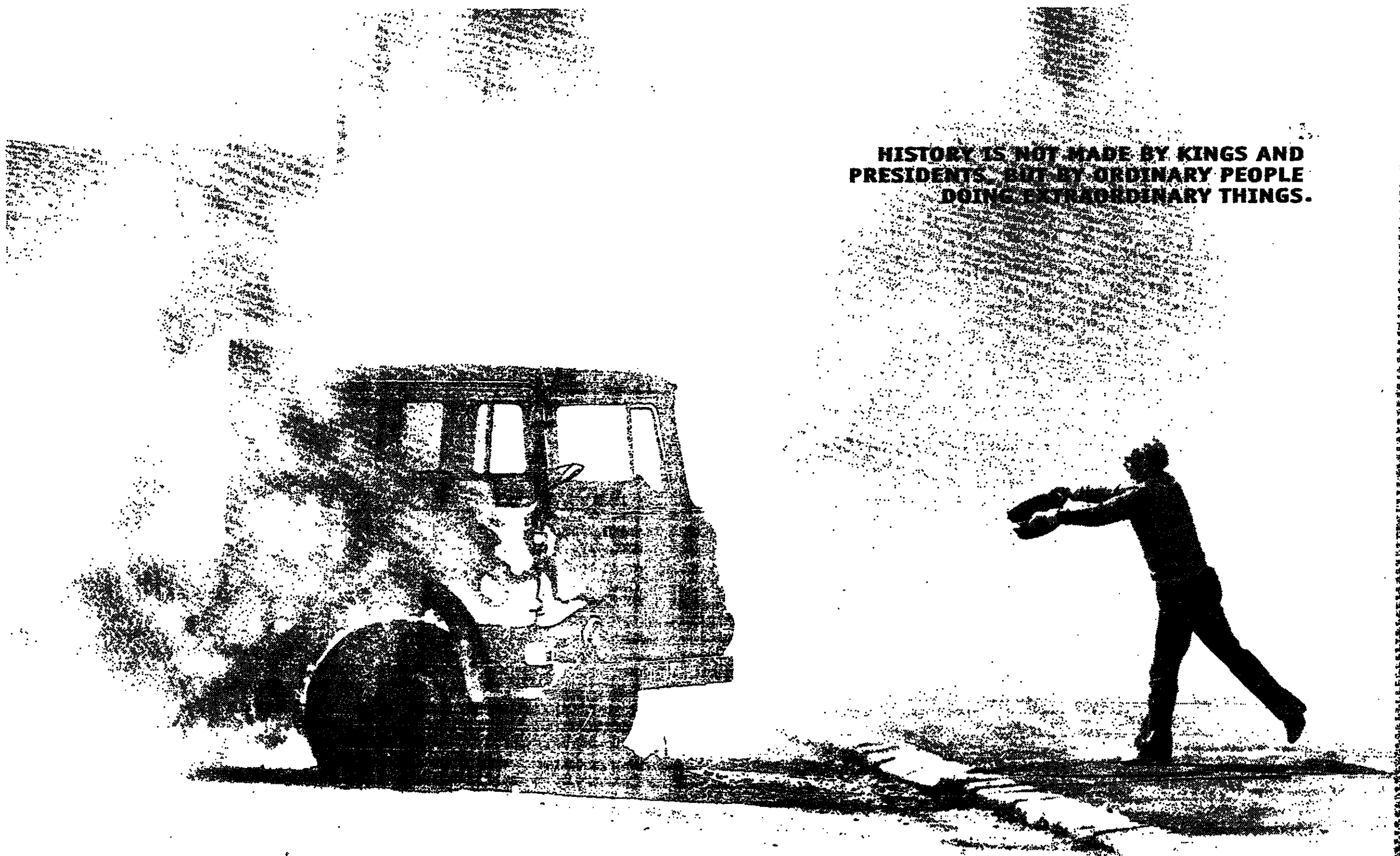
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| 12 Month | High | Low | Stock | Div | Yld | P/E | 52 | High | Low | Latest | Chg |
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| 20 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 21 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 22 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 23 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 24 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 25 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 26 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
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| 29 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 30 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 31 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 32 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
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| 36 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
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| 50 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 51 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 52 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 53 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 54 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 55 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 56 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 57 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 58 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 59 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |
| 60 | 1.00 | 0.75 | Amalgamated | | | | 100 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.85 | 0.10 |

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**HISTORY IS NOT MADE BY KINGS AND
PRESIDENTS. BUT BY ORDINARY PEOPLE
DOING EXTRAORDINARY THINGS.**

We predict that they will not start

who did something else besides being there.

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November 28, 1995

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Gr - Greek Drachma **HK - Hong Kong Dollar** **IT - Italian Lira** **¥ - Japanese Yen**
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Francs **Scd - Swedish Krona** **V - Vietnamese Dong**

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THE WORLD'S DAILY NEWS

WORLD ROUNDUP



Andre Agassi, who has dropped out of the U.S. Davis Cup team.

Agassi Drops Out

TENNIS Andre Agassi, who has been sidelined with a chest injury, withdrew from the U.S. team for the Davis Cup final against Russia in Moscow, which starts Friday. Agassi will be replaced by Richey Reneberg, a doubles specialist. Pete Sampras and Jim Courier are expected to play the singles rubbers. Todd Martin and Reneberg the doubles. (AP)

Graf Makes Statement

TENNIS Peter Graf's two-page written declaration failed to answer "critical questions," said Peter Wechsung, the Mannheim prosecutor. Graf, the father of Steffi Graf, ranked No. 1 in world tennis, has been in jail since August over alleged tax evasion. His declaration Tuesday would not alter his status, said Wechsung. (AP)

Formula One Boy Racer

MOTOR RACING The Minardi Formula One team has signed a 17-year-old driver, Esteban Tuero, an Argentine who won the Italian Formula 2000 championship, will race next season in Italian Formula Three and make his first Formula One tests, Minardi said. (Reuters)

Robinson Tries to Resign

BASEBALL Frank Robinson, the assistant general manager of the Baltimore Orioles, said he has offered his resignation and plans to offer it again after the hiring of Pat Gillick as general manager. Robinson, 60, has been with the Orioles for 19 years, the last five as assistant GM. He was not a candidate to succeed Roland Hemond.

The pitcher Sid Fernandez and the Philadelphia Phillies agreed to a one-year contract for \$250,000 and possible bonuses of \$1.4 million. Fernandez also will get \$3 million from Baltimore, which released him July 10.

Vinny Castilla, the All-Star third baseman, agreed to a two-year contract reportedly worth \$3.2 million to stay with the Colorado Rockies. (AP)

Refs and League to Meet

BASKETBALL The NBA's locked-out referees and the league are to meet Wednesday in New York, the first negotiations since the union rejected an offer Nov. 20. The NBA says its last offer contains salaries from \$85,000 to \$261,000 this season and \$90,000 to \$328,000 in the final season of a five-year deal. The referees say the range should be \$75,000 to \$211,000 in the first year and \$80,000 to \$278,000 in the fifth. (AP)

Thanks, I'd Rather Watch the Video

International Herald Tribune
GIVE the Japanese an inch and they take a technological mile. In Tokyo on Tuesday, I was put on the cutting edge of sports. In the afternoon I saw 3-D pictures that put the viewer seemingly closer to the action than I ever thought possible.

Then I drove down to the National Stadium there, to hail the best two club teams of Europe and South America — Ajax of the Netherlands versus Gremio of Brazil.

How could there even be a choice to make? To sit and watch film, albeit through the most advanced state-of-the-art technology, or to sit close to the sidelines when men of real flesh and blood, gifted young individuals, compete to the limits of their heart and nerve and sinew?

No contest. Some 47,129 people paid between 30,000 and 90,000 yen (\$30-\$90) to be at the real game. Countless millions tuned in via the aging technology of their ordinary television sets in 151 nations across the world.

This, we believed, is as competitive as it gets. Ajax, built up by many as the outstanding team in the world, had to overcome the intimidatory physical approach of a team from Porto Alegre that had surprisingly won the Copa Libertadores, the South American championship.

The wind was blustery, the turf worn and bare. But these young gods of the sport — the Gremio players alone guaranteed \$15,000 a man to entertain us this night — could surely master nature.

"They were too nervous, both of the teams," said David Elleray, shortly after the final whistle on what had been a scoreless 90 minutes, a barren extra-time half-hour and then a wretched penalty shoot-out in which the first three kicks were off-target.

ELLERAY could put his finger on some of the faults because he was right there with the players. A housemaster at England's select Harrow School, he referees for the fun and the expertise of traveling the world and seeing its different cultures.

He took the names of two of Ajax's finest — Nwankwo Kanu and Edgar Davids — for fouls. Worse, he had to caution six of the Gremio players, and to send off the defender Rivaldo, who committed two unacceptably hurtful fouls in the space of three minutes.

The Brazilians, said Elleray, had an endearing way about them. They referred to him as "teacher" or "professor." He feels that both sets of players had a specific problem that could have been cured: FIFA, the international soccer federation, in its wisdom, has countenanced balls of lighter weight on the theory that this might lead to more goals. When the wind blows as it did

across Tokyo, when the field offers such uneven bounce, that ball becomes as difficult to control as trying to put one's foot on a live eel.

The players could have asked the official to change the ball. They did not have the presence of mind to do it. They could have put us out of the long misery of the game, but they failed to put that round object into the net.

Strange, is it not, to refer to such young and gifted forwards as Patrick Kluivert of Ajax, and Jariel of Gremio as inadequates. Yet Kluivert, just 19 and coveted by soccer's big spenders, missed one chance, and then placed another against the crossbar with his head.

Jariel, 22, was playing in Tokyo for his future: Glasgow Rangers of Scotland, Valencia of Spain, and at least one German club have scouted him.

THEY SAW nothing in Tokyo to hasten a transfer. The big, 6-foot-1 inch (1.85-meter) striker had three golden opportunities, he snatched nervously at them, missed them, and was substituted before the glorious end.

That Ajax should win the night, albeit by the expedient of four successful penalty kicks to three, is justice in the long term.

The team from Amsterdam is, by most yardsticks, the best around. The players, treated by their coach, Louis Van Gaal, as exceptional beings had flown the 6,000 miles (9,600 kilometers) to Japan in a KLM airplane that had had some of its seats removed so that the precious young men could spread out and relax.

Such exceptional pandering can put pressure on performers. But Gremio arrived with slogans too heavy to bear. "Nascido para vencer," born to win. They were born to nothing of the sort, beaten in the worst possible misappropriation of sport.

And it almost made me wish that, instead of watching the real thing, I had stayed in the downtown Tokyo studio where the technicians unveiled for us the concept of Virtual Reality.

Those who are developing this 3-D cinema effect, and who will eventually put screens that measure 80 meters (262 feet) by 35 meters in crowded stadiums, tell us the concept isn't ready, is not refined enough for immediate marketing.

One reason is that the Japanese are using the idea of filling more than one stadium for the same game as part of their World Cup 2002 bid. They have told FIFA that the technology could bring the games to millions more people and, by implication, bring tens of millions of dollars more to the sport.

Not until I witnessed the "Virtual Reality," and then suffered the game in the National Stadium, did I even think it possible that technology could match human endeavor. Now, I wonder.

Rob Hughes is on the staff of The Times.



Arlon, the Gremio midfielder, screening the ball from Edgar Davids of Ajax in the Intercontinental Cup in Tokyo.

Sentence Reduced, Tapie Appeals Again

Reuters
DOUAI, France — A French appeals court on Tuesday reduced the sentence of the politician Bernard Tapie in a soccer bribery scandal, from one year to eight months, and barred him from office for three years instead of five.

The sentence, on charges of match-rigging and interfering with witnesses, is the first prison term confirmed against the former cabinet minister, who has been declared bankrupt and faces several other lawsuits over his collapsed business empire.

Tapie, who has said he was terrified of going to prison, immediately made a new appeal to France's highest court that will put off any jail term. The court could take up to 18 months to rule.

His lawyer appealed against the verdict on technicalities. His immunity from jail as a member of France's National Assembly will be lifted automatically if the high court confirms the verdict. But it was not

immediately clear if his immunity as a member of the European Parliament could still protect him.

The delay could allow Tapie to turn to a new project — starring in a film by the prize-winning director Claude Le Louch.

Tapie had been sentenced by a lower court to a year in jail with another year suspended for bribing players of the rival league team, Valenciennes, to lose a game shortly before Marseille was to face AC Milan in the 1993 European Cup final. Marseille won both games, 1-0.

The scandal heralded the downfall of both Tapie, who has been declared bankrupt, and Marseille, which has been downgraded to the second division.

Tapie, once a protégé of former President Francois Mitterrand also faces more lawsuits for fraud and tax evasion in connection with his collapsed business empire, and a probe into slush funds allegedly used by Marseille to rig other games.



Bernard Tapie, former soccer boss, leaving court Tuesday.

The court sentenced Jean-Pierre Bernes, Tapie's right-hand man at Marseille, to 18 months suspended. Bernes, said at the trial that the Valenciennes-Marseille case was just

Hapless Rangers Tie Devils

The Associated Press
Mike Richter stopped 40 of 41 shots as the New York Rangers tied the New Jersey Devils, 1-1. The Rangers, the Stanley Cup champions, have been winless for six games. At 5:02 of the first period, Bruce Driver of the Rangers

NHL ROUNDUP

scored his first goal of the season, connecting against the club he played with for 12 years. Bill Guerin tied the game with 14 seconds left in the first period. The Devils goaltender, Martin Brodeur, stopped 27 of 28 shots.

Lightning 2, Kings 0 In St. Petersburg, Florida, Daren Puppa made 45 saves and Shawn Burr had a goal and an assist as Tampa Bay won its fifth straight. Alexander Selivanov also scored. Puppa marked his first

shutout this season and helped Tampa Bay establish a franchise-high winning streak. Los Angeles dropped its fifth in a row.

Puppa preserved the shutout with two point-blank saves on Dimitri Khristich and Vitali Yachmenev after behind-the-net feeds from Wayne Gretzky early in the third period.

He also stopped Gretzky on a breakaway with 45 seconds left with a sliding pad save.

Sabres 2, Blues 0 Pat LaFontaine scored two first-period goals, one with St. Louis short-handed, and Dominik Hasek blocked 30 shots.

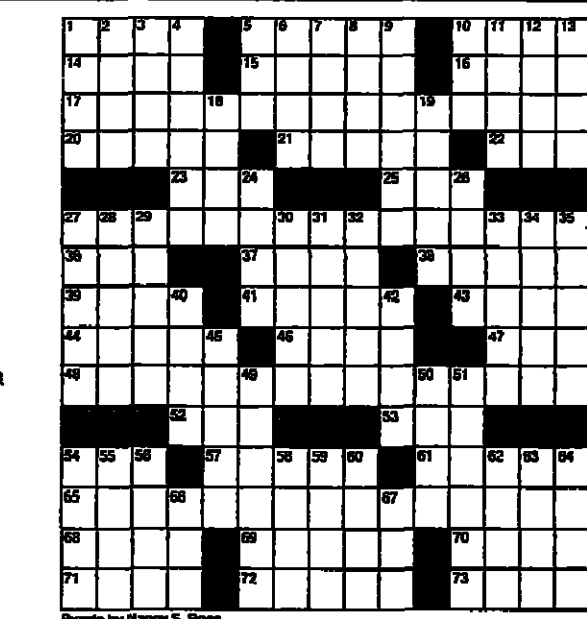
The Blues are winless in their last five games and have lost four of their last seven, scoring a total of 14 goals during that stretch.

The visiting Buffalo Sabres have won four of six and reached the .500 mark at 10-10-2.

CROSSWORD

ACROSS
1 Mussorgsky's Boris
5 Apostle to the Slavs
10 Shakespeare title starter

14 Stewpot
15 Bête —
16 Loser's concern
17 BARE
20 Cadiz's country
21 Debatable point



Puzzle by Nancy S. Ross

© New York Times/Edited by Will Shortz.

Solution to Puzzle of Nov. 28
HARP STOIC PLUS
ALOE WALDO RENT
CITE ILLIC ESTE
JICKAPOO KONTOW
AMEN MAMA
SAMOAS WATERLOO
AMOOT GANON ECU
HILLO RASSO BANT
INT PANNE FUSED
BOOGALOO CIGERO
ALLE BALK
SHELLY WALLAROO
CODA HOHUM RIND
AMEX ONICE OTOE
DENE OZIE OARS

DOWN
1 Wee ones
2 Smack
3 Teatro —
4 Jaunty
5 Larry King broadcaster
6 Cartoon bear

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SCOREBOARD

BASKETBALL

NBA Finals

MAJESTIC GARDENS

MAJESTIC GARDENS

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SPORTS

Oakland's Old Pro Fails Against San Diego

By Tom Friend
New York Times Service

SAN DIEGO — The Oakland Raiders like their backup quarterbacks gray. George Blanda played almost to the ripe age of 50, and Vince Evans started on Monday night at the squeamish age of 40. But, as Al Davis earned, Evans is no Blanda.

Trailing by six points with four minutes left on Monday evening, Evans got two chances to be an old-time hero — and failed miserably. One drive ended on an incomplete fourth-down pass with two minutes 15 seconds remaining, and a final drive ended with an interception with 56 seconds left.

So, Evans acted his age, and the San Diego Chargers acted 1994. They defeated Oakland, 12-6, and injured the Raiders' opportunity to win the American Football Conference West. Oakland (8-4) will play host to Kansas City (10-2) on Sunday.

But San Diego, a Super Bowl team last season, finally had something to shout about. The Chargers, who had dropped six of their last seven, managed four field goals on Monday night and made the Raiders year for Jeff Hostetler's better health.

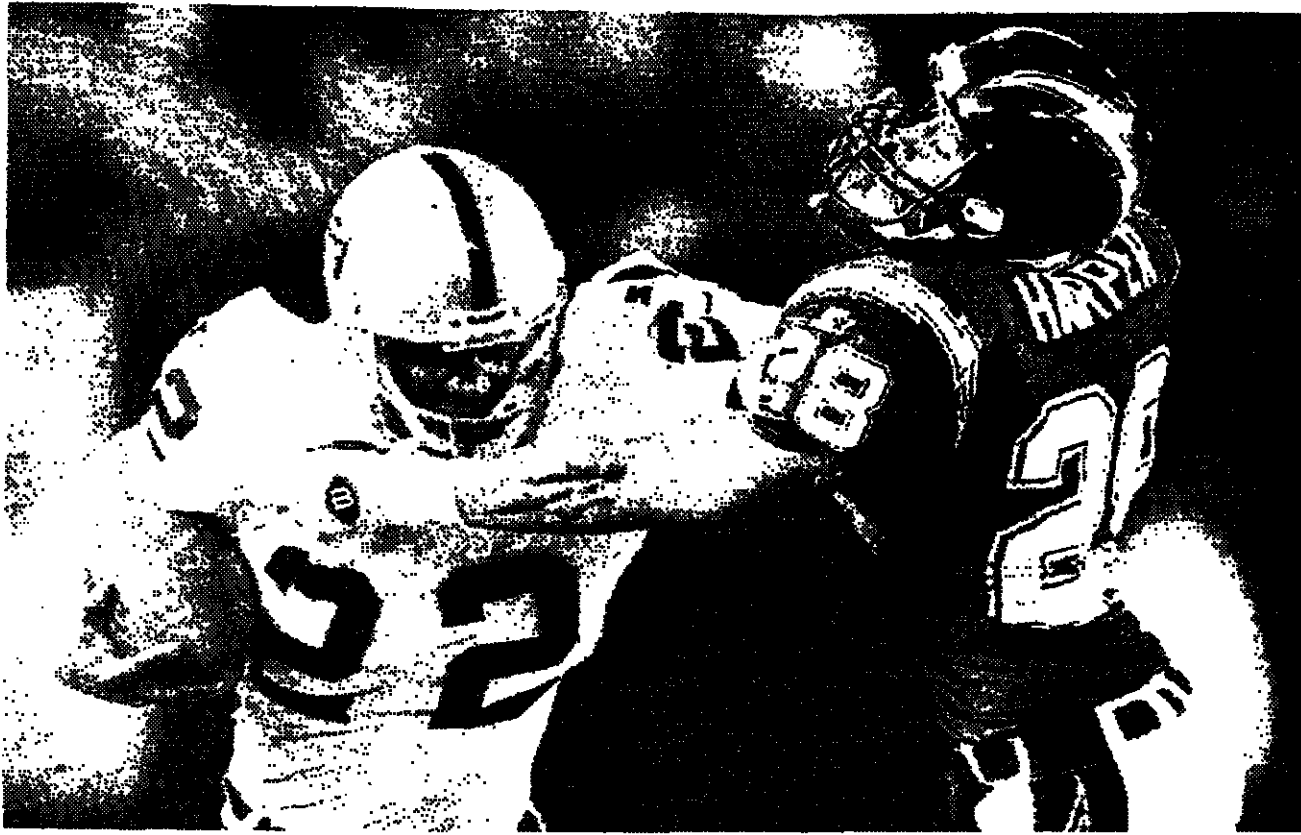
The game actually may have boiled down to a 40-yard dash. With San Diego ahead by 9-3 early in the final quarter, Oakland's Harvey Williams took a handoff from his own seven-yard line and made a beeline to the Chargers' end zone. But just beyond midfield Dwayne Harper (who also intercepted Evans' last pass) dragged Williams down from behind. The 60-yard gain led to a 26-yard field goal instead of a touchdown, and the Chargers still held a tenuous lead.

Moments later, the linebacker Junior Seau blitzed Evans, scared the quarterback into retreat and saw a defensive end, Chris Mims, pry the ball loose. Mims recovered the fumble, setting up John Carney's 38-yard field goal and increasing San Diego's lead to 12-6 with 4:02 remaining.

Aaron Hayden, a rookie from Tennessee, replaced Natrone Means as San Diego's backfield workhorse and he ran like a man beyond his years. His swerving, 15-yard gain in the second quarter was not only a work of art, but it also got Carney away from his beating pad.

Carney, who had back spasms an hour before game time, kicked a 23-yard field goal following Hayden's run, and the Chargers took a 6-3 halftime lead.

Both offenses came out whiffing in the



Oakland back Harvey Williams, left, fending off Dwayne Harper of the Chargers, who won with four field goals, 12-6.

first half, Evans, the oldest active player in the National Football League, started ahead of the injured Hostetler, and the only crevice the San Diego defense gave him was the screen pass. All the short gains (10 of 14 passes for 99 yards in the first half) added up to one field goal — a 30-yarder by Jeff Jaeger in the first quarter.

Evans was constantly harassed by the defensive end Leslie O'Neal, and he almost ended up like Hostetler: in pain. Hostetler has a seriously bruised left (nonthrowing) shoulder that left him dressed in denim on Monday night. Hostetler is in such agony, he may not return for next weekend's showdown with Kansas City.

Evans is the Raider alternative, but he apparently has the total trust of his Oakland teammates.

"I'll never forget it," said the Raider defensive end Nolan Harrison, who grew up in Chicago watching Evans play for the

Bears and the Chicago Blitz of the U.S. Football League. "We weren't used to seeing black quarterbacks in the league, period. But I had never seen a quarterback like this. He was running all over the place."

As for the Chargers, they are mere ghosts of their former Super Bowl selves. Means, their Pro Bowl rusher, is out with a groin injury, and the alternatives have been Rodney Culver, Ronnie Harmon and Hayden.

But Hayden was the one doing pirouettes on Monday night. He had 38 yards on five first-half attempts.

Trouble in Cards for Linebacker

An NFL head linebacker is being investigated by the league's director of officiating after Brett Favre, the Green Bay quarterback, said he was asked for his autograph. The Associated Press reported

from Green Bay, Wisconsin.

Favre said that when he got to his locker before Sunday's game against Tampa Bay, the referee, Jerry Bergman, walked up and said, "I hate to do this, but I have a few cards for my grandson."

Favre, who leads the NFL with 3,180 yards passing and 28 touchdowns, said, "That's the first time I've ever seen that."

After signing eight football cards, Favre told Bergman, "Give me a couple of good calls today."

But after one of 22 whistles on an afternoon filled with flags and fisticuffs, Favre told Bergman he wanted those autographs back.

A NFL spokesman, Greg Aiello, said that such actions would violate proper officiating procedure and that the league's director of officiating, Jerry Secman, will investigate.

New Variety of Beijing Duck

The Associated Press

HONG KONG — Chicago has the Bulls, Minnesota the Timberwolves and now Beijing has the Ducks — and they're ferocious.

The Ducks are among 12 teams, including the Squirrels, the Panthers and the Tigers, ready to do battle when China's new basketball league, modeled on the National Basketball Association, starts its first full season on Dec. 10.

The promoter Nick Freyer, based in Hong Kong, said Tuesday that the Ducks vetoed the initial design for their logo, which showed a friendly duck.

"They said, 'You can't have a friendly duck! It will be eaten by the tiger. But when you have a ferocious duck, the odds are a little better,'" he said.

The finished logo, which will be prominently affixed on players' shirts, shows a fierce-looking duck, eyebrows

arched, with a streak of lightning in the background.

The games, to be played on Wednesdays and Sundays, will be broadcast live by Chinese television and be relayed across Asia by the Hong Kong-based STAR TV, a satellite broadcaster, China's official Xinhua news agency said.

A total 132 games will be played in the 13-week regular season, and 22 in the four-round playoffs, which will end April 7.

The China Basketball Association has earmarked a record 1.1 million yuan (about \$133,000) in prize money for the league, whose teams are drawn from cities around China and from Chinese Army units.

The Ducks, also known as the Capital Iron & Steel Corp. team, chose their name because of roast duck, a famous dish from Beijing, Freyer said.

Raptors Fly Away, 101-98, As Golden State Rush Fails

The Associated Press

Willie Anderson scored a season-high 26 points, and Chris Mullin missed his attempt for a game-tying three-pointer at the buzzer as the Toronto Raptors beat the Golden State Warriors, 101-98.

B.J. Armstrong missed a three-point try

NBA ROUNDUP

for Golden State with three seconds left Monday, but Toronto's Jan Tabak then missed a pair of free throws. Mullin got the ball with 2.3 seconds left and his shot bounced off the rim, giving the Raptors their third straight.

Magic 96, Pistons 95 In Orlando, Nick Anderson scored 31 points and Orlando made four free throws in the final minute to hold off Detroit and win its fifth straight.

The Magic squandered a 10-point second-half lead, then nearly lost control again down the stretch because of poor free-throw shooting. Joe Wolf made a free throw for a three-point lead with five seconds left. But the Pistons' Lindsey Hunter apparently thought his team trailed by only

two and dribbled the length of the floor for an uncompleted layup at the buzzer.

Jazz 114, Suns 105 Karl Malone pulled down two defensive rebounds and made three free throws in the final 25 seconds in Phoenix. Malone had 25 points to move into 15th place in NBA career scoring. He also had 12 rebounds. John Stockton had 22 points and 14 assists, and Chris Morris scored 17 points for the Jazz, which never trailed in the second half while stopping a two-game losing streak.

Bulls 107, Trail Blazers 104 Michael Jordan sank a 16-foot jumper to put Chicago ahead with 28 seconds to play, then stole the ball from Arvidas Sabonis and scored on a breakaway stuff to beat Portland.

The visiting Bulls blew a 13-point lead in the final six minutes before Jordan pulled out the victory, scoring 14 of his 33 points in the final quarter.

Sabonis scored 23 points in 28 minutes for Portland. His three-pointer with 2:50 tied the game at 102-102. Rod Strickland stole the ball from Scottie Pippen and scored on a layup with 1:51 to play to give Portland its only lead of the final quarter, 104-103.

SCOREBOARD

BASKETBALL

NBA STANDINGS

EASTERN CONFERENCE

| Team | W | L | Pct | GB |
|--------------|----|---|------|-------|
| Orlando | 12 | 2 | .857 | 0 |
| New York | 10 | 2 | .833 | 1 |
| Washington | 7 | 3 | .700 | 3 |
| Atlanta | 6 | 4 | .600 | 4 |
| Charlotte | 4 | 7 | .364 | 6 |
| New Jersey | 4 | 8 | .333 | 7 |
| Philadelphia | 2 | 9 | .182 | 8 1/2 |

CENTRAL DIVISION

| Team | W | L | Pct | GB |
|------------|----|---|------|-------|
| Chicago | 11 | 2 | .846 | 0 |
| Indiana | 7 | 5 | .583 | 3 1/2 |
| Atlanta | 5 | 7 | .417 | 5 1/2 |
| Charlotte | 5 | 8 | .385 | 6 |
| Orlando | 5 | 9 | .357 | 6 1/2 |
| Washington | 4 | 8 | .333 | 7 |

WESTERN CONFERENCE

| Team | W | L | Pct | GB |
|-------------|----|---|------|-------|
| Portland | 10 | 3 | .769 | 0 |
| San Antonio | 11 | 4 | .731 | 1 |
| Phoenix | 6 | 6 | .500 | 5 1/2 |
| Utah | 5 | 6 | .455 | 6 |
| Denver | 4 | 8 | .333 | 7 1/2 |
| San Jose | 2 | 9 | .182 | 8 1/2 |

PACIFIC DIVISION

| Team | W | L | Pct | GB |
|--------------|---|---|------|-------|
| Seattle | 9 | 4 | .692 | 0 |
| Golden State | 5 | 8 | .385 | 4 1/2 |

MAJOR COLLEGE SCORES

FOOTBALL

NFL STANDINGS

AMERICAN CONFERENCE

| Team | W | L | T | Pct | PF | PA |
|--------------|---|---|---|------|-----|-----|
| Buffalo | 8 | 4 | 0 | .667 | 246 | 228 |
| Indianapolis | 7 | 5 | 0 | .583 | 246 | 228 |

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

| Team | W | L | T | Pct | PF | PA |
|------------|---|---|---|------|-----|-----|
| Pittsburgh | 8 | 4 | 0 | .667 | 246 | 228 |
| San Diego | 7 | 5 | 0 | .583 | 246 | 228 |

MAJOR COLLEGE SCORES

FOOTBALL

NFL STANDINGS

AMERICAN CONFERENCE

| Team | W | L | T | Pct | PF | PA |
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MAJOR COLLEGE SCORES

FOOTBALL

NFL STANDINGS

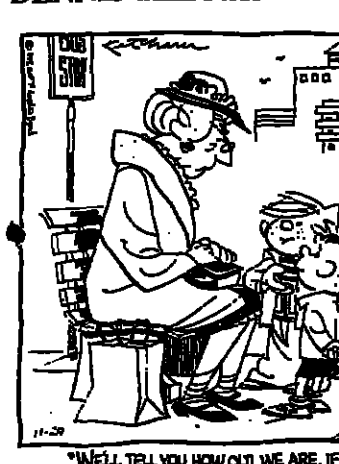
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| San Diego | 7 | 5 | 0 | .583 | 246 | 228 |

DENNIS THE MENACE



"WELL, TELL US HOW OLD WE ARE, IF YOU'LL TELL US HOW OLD YOU ARE."

JUMBLE

THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME

Unscramble these four jumbles, and you'll have a word that means the same as the word in the jumble.

KALCH

CHALT

FACTRY

SAPHIR

Now arrange the checked letters to form a word that means the same as the word in the jumble.

Answer here: 1 A

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PEANUTS



"PSST! BIG BROTHER! ARE YOU AWAKE?"

"I AM NOW."

"I NEED FIVE DOLLARS."

"FIVE DOLLARS? FOR STAMPS, FOR MY CHRISTMAS CARDS?"

"WHERE WOULD I GET FIVE DOLLARS? IN THE MORNING WHEN YOU'RE NOT SO CRABBY?"

"I'LL COME BACK."

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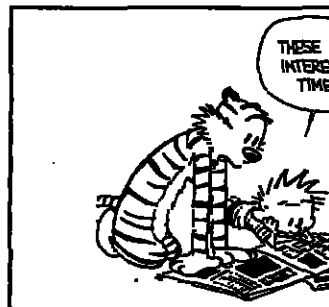
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CALVIN AND HOBBES



"THESE ARE INTERESTING THINGS."

"WE DON'T TRUST THE GOVERNMENT, WE DON'T TRUST THE LEGAL SYSTEM, WE DON'T TRUST THE MEDIA, AND WE DON'T TRUST EACH OTHER. WE'VE UNDERMINED ALL AUTHORITY, AND WITH IT, THE BASIS FOR REPLACING IT."

"INTERESTING IS A MILD WAY OF PUTTING IT."

"IT'S LIKE A SIX-YEAR-OLD'S PRIMA COME TRAIL!"

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"INTERESTING IS

WASHINGTON MOVIES

Think of the Sequels

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — "The American President" is a delightful film in which Michael Douglas plays a widower chief executive hungry for a date. The lady of his dreams turns up in the form of a sassy environmental lobbyist played by Annette Bening.

The barriers to a happy ending arise from the difficult logistics of wooing in the White House, under the noses of a snoopy press, but it turns out they can be overcome. But before the final clinch, the audience is subjected to a five-minute presidential address, in which we learn: first, that you cannot truly love the Constitution unless you belong to the American Civil Liberties Union; second, that the only federal crime bill that makes sense is one banning assault weapons and handguns; and third, that when it comes to environmental measures, the stricter the standard, the better the bill.

In short, Rob Reiner, the producer-director of this basically entertaining movie, has loaded it up with the whole liberal message and told the ticket-buyers to swallow it along with their popcorn and soft drinks.

I wonder if he's thought about the trend he may be starting. I know that the left may have more clout in Hollywood than in most precincts, but there have to be some Republican moguls out there. If "The American President" is the hit it seems to be, how long until the West Coast fanatics of Newt Gingrich and Bob Dole decide to cash in?

The right wing could certainly demand equal time for "Speaker of the House," an adventure film about a dare-

devil, prematurely gray legislator on a mission to overthrow the "corrupt liberal welfare state." Unable to defeat him on the issues, his enemies harass him unmercifully with spurious ethics complaints and attempted exposes of his private life. The speaker's sinking polls jeopardize his legislative agenda. But just before the crucial vote on the budget bill curing taxes on parents of junk-food-eating teenagers and abolishing OSHA and EPA, the speaker shows up unshaven and red-eyed at 7 A.M. in the House prayer gallery.

"I have an important announcement," he says. "I have just returned from Los Angeles, where I met a man who phoned me to confess to the most celebrated double murder of the decade. His initials are not O.J. He is, in fact, a fourth-generation welfare recipient who, trying to break the cycle of dependency, asked his seventh-grade public school teacher to explain the difference between right and wrong and was told by her that Department of Education regulations specifically prevented her from answering that question. Since then he has kidnapped nine junior-high principals in succession and tortured them with the same question. He has been convicted in six different states, but never received a sentence of more than 60 days from our corrupt liberal judicial system."

"You will learn more about this nauseating case of public-sector perversion tonight when he appears on Larry King. But let me say to my colleagues who must vote this afternoon on our budget..."

Call it the C-SPANNING of Hollywood. If it catches on, the movie houses will be as empty as the polling booths.

Russell Baker is on vacation.

By Katherine Knorr
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — No one is a prophet in his own land, and so there was something particularly right about Jean-Claude Baker — American restaurateur né Jean-Claude Trouville in Burgundy — promoting with shocking American forthrightness to a bemused Parisian press the French translation of his biography of Josephine Baker.

"No city in the world has fallen in love the way Paris did with Josephine," Baker said. "I thought that the French, in their excessive and possessive love, I thought they would be interested today to discover the true story of the woman they adopted. Instead, it's 'You are destroying the myth.' In France, he said, 'she's a saint they mummified.'"

A saint she was not. Josephine could be funny, generous and quite courageous, as she demonstrated in the wartime activities that would earn her the French Medal of the Resistance.

She was also magnificently amoral, unreliable in her business dealings, odious with the help, careless with other people's money, a mythomaniac of big-screen proportions and not a little cracked.

The story of Josephine Baker has been told, by herself and others, in so many different ways that it resembles the fantastic sets of 1920s nightclubs, all trompe l'oeil, papier-mâché and mirrors.

After her death in 1975, Jean-Claude Baker, who had been late in her life her confidant, her majordomo and what the French would call her *souffre-douleur*, and who was spiritually adopted by her (and took her name), set out to find out a few facts about the girl from St. Louis who conquered Paris in 1925. The result, written with Chris Chase, was "Josephine: The Hungry Heart," published last year to critical acclaim in the United States and just out in France (A Contrario).

Josephine is a cultural icon, and a political one, too, in the charged racial atmosphere in the United States. She was the victim of the crude racism of an America where she could be a



Jean-Claude Baker with Josephine in Los Angeles in 1973.

headline performer, taking a large cut of a large gross, but couldn't stay at the St. Moritz hotel. She was an example of the weird culture that segregation created, with its opportunities for "passing" as white, and greater openings for lighter-skinned blacks. A tireless and sometimes tireless crusader against racism, late in life she was quite out of step with the Black Power movement.

She is perhaps the best example of France's hospitality to American blacks, a hospitality for which the French now and then congratulate themselves a shade too loudly.

She thus figures prominently in the love-hate relationship between Americans and French, a relationship that thrives on myth and cultural one-upmanship. When Jack Lang criticized

Hollywood while praising what he considered to be the art of America's oppressed masses (graffiti, rap), he was only one in a long line of French intellectuals who have lectured Americans on the contradictions of their creative and brutal society.

There was therefore no one better placed than Jean-Claude Baker, the 52-year-old owner of Chez Josephine in New York, who loudly proclaims his impatience with his native France, to look critically at the woman who toured the world ranting about Coca-Cola and capitalism and the lost soul of America.

This book is also his story. Shunned as a child because he was illegitimate, abandoned by his father when he was 14, as he tells it, he went on to success as a club owner, but was somehow

made whole — and eventually American — by his connection with Josephine, who had become French.

She was born Freda McDonald in 1906 to a woman who worked as a laundress and to an unidentified father (probably white), raised early on by a grandmother who had been born a slave, then with her mother's other children: she was called a bastard and mocked for her lighter skin.

"Josephine all her life was an angry woman," Baker said. "For 15 years she could never say Daddy. For 15 years she was too tight for her mother. And then when she joined [the show] Shuffle Along, she was 16 years old, she was too dark. And she was still a nigger for white America." (Later she would burn her hair trying to straighten it, and burn her private parts while bathing with chlorine.)

She was practically illiterate but when she became, literally, an overnight sensation in Paris she proved a quick study. She wrecked her career and ruined herself more than once with impetuous decisions, but it can't be said people took advantage of her. "It was not easy to exploit Josephine," Baker said.

She married often, not always legally, and famously adopted 12 children of various races, whom she called the Rainbow Tribe and raised, in a manner of speaking, in her chateau in the Périgord. "She was a chameleon," Baker said. "It's not nice to say this was another performance, but it was another part."

She became a French star, but in America she was only a negro. When she played New York in 1936 in the Ziegfeld Follies, Time wrote: "In sex appeal to jaded Europeans of the jazz-loving type, a Negro wench always had a head start, but to Manhattan theatregoers last week she was just a slightly buck-toothed Negro woman whose figure might be matched in any nightclub show, whose dancing and singing could be topped practically anywhere outside France."

She short-circuited her biggest U.S. success, in 1951, in a pointless battle with Walter Winchell. She was bigger than Winchell, she insisted.

Not in America, it turned out.

Baker's project took 16 years of research, notably tracking down survivors of the various shows she was with. It took him into black neighborhoods in American cities that cabbies warned him against.

"Those people have been forgotten by black and white America," Baker said. "They were living in nursing homes, some were starving, but they had dignity. And when I came, with my accent, it brought back to them the memory of when they came to France. And they knew they were going to die soon. All have died but Maude Russell, who is 99 years old today, the first one who died the Charleston on a New York stage."

Baker's aim was not only to shed light on Josephine's background but also to go after some of the myths about Gay Paree.

The nightclub of the '20s had a decadent brilliance that has never been replicated, and they attracted both royals and artists. But if they were classier and better attended than today's clip joints, nevertheless men didn't go there for the intellectual stimulation.

France was a haven for black American artists (as it was for homosexuals and other "misfits") fleeing a prudish and provincial America. From the moment the Revue Nègre arrived at the Gare Saint-Lazare, its members knew they were in another world: "Evelyn Anderson told me, Jean-Claude, people received us so well in Paris, we almost forgot that we were colored people."

Still, the French attitude was less tolerance than a kind of indifference, a sense of privacy and distance that masquerades as live-and-let-live. American blacks were exotic and the music was great. They were also unthreatening.

"What is worse in the world, America, with slaves from Africa, what is worse, Europe, with a teeny country like Belgium, who stole the land of the black man in the name of pacification? To me both are the same," said Baker. "America for all its racism was the first to applaud great black talent."

POSTCARD

Have Miniskirt, Will Litigate: She Means Business

By Evelyn Nieves
New York Times Service

GREAT NECK, New York — Rosalie Osias's blond hair spills out of a white cowboy hat, cascading down her shoulders. Holding a big fat cigar, she is wearing a blazer with the sleeves rolled up to her elbows, a skirt the size of a legal pad and spiked heels that would unnerve Sam Spade.

She means business. And just in case anyone is confused about what kind, Osias's full-page advertisement in two mortgage-banking trade newspapers also features her briefcase, strictly Standard Issue Attorney.

Until she began posing like Hugh Hefner's version of the Lady Lawyer, Osias says, no one in mortgage banking paid her any attention. "In that field, it's all run by men, it's all owned by men," she said. "It's

disgusting!" For 10 years, she had practiced real estate law — "I love that whole game" — building up a nifty little solo practice the old-fashioned, word-of-mouth way. But mortgage banking proved to be a different sport. "I was going to dinner," she said. "I was going to breakfast. I was going to every networking event I could." The best she could get, she said, was some banker saying, "You're cute."

Enter the ads in Mortgage Press and Mortgage Report, where Osias struts her stuff in the name of contracts and closings. Local and state bar associations may be screaming "Tacky," but Osias is laughing all the way to her expanding Rolodex. It turns out the ads have drummed up business, even though she has had to put up with flouting and date requests. "What starts out as flirting turns into business," she said.

Not to mention she is getting attention from all corners. Letters and calls have

poured in from all over the world. This is a mortgage banking lawyer with a publicist, a press packet and a growing clip file. Last month, she was interviewed on "Inside Edition." This month, "some Japanese magazine," she said. "The whole world is interested in a way that I didn't think anyone would be," she said. Ethics professors have asked her to speak about the ads. Motivational speakers have asked her to address groups on the subject of selling yourself. Gerald Uelman, from O.J. Simpson's defense team, plans to include her ads and their aftermath in a book he and his legal partner are writing about the legal life. Which all means that Osias isn't planning to stop her ads any time soon. This despite the scorn colleagues have dished her way since her first one appeared last April. "I went to a function and people started pointing at me. People have sent each other the ads. I'm like the talk of the town."

WEATHER

Forecast for Thursday through Saturday, as provided by AccuWeather.

| Europe | | | | Asia | | | |
|---------------|-------|-------|---|-----------|-------|-------|---|
| City | High | Low | W | City | High | Low | W |
| Algeria | 16/11 | 12/5 | C | Bangkok | 31/18 | 24/15 | C |
| Amsterdam | 9/16 | 6/12 | C | Beijing | 13/25 | 2/7 | C |
| Antwerp | 7/14 | 4/9 | C | Hong Kong | 23/27 | 18/16 | C |
| Athens | 17/25 | 11/22 | C | Kobe | 20/24 | 12/7 | C |
| Berlin | 10/11 | 7/2 | C | Manila | 27/32 | 21/18 | C |
| Bombay | 30/37 | 23/18 | C | New Delhi | 30/34 | 22/17 | C |
| Buenos Aires | 14/21 | 9/5 | C | Seoul | 11/22 | 7/4 | C |
| Calcutta | 34/41 | 26/18 | C | Shanghai | 14/27 | 7/4 | C |
| Cairo | 24/31 | 18/11 | C | Singapore | 27/30 | 21/18 | C |
| Canton | 20/27 | 13/8 | C | Taipei | 21/27 | 14/7 | C |
| Chongqing | 18/24 | 13/5 | C | Tokyo | 11/22 | 7/4 | C |
| Copenhagen | 7/14 | 3/2 | C | | | | |
| Dublin | 10/16 | 6/1 | C | | | | |
| Edinburgh | 8/14 | 4/2 | C | | | | |
| Hankow | 24/31 | 18/11 | C | | | | |
| Hong Kong | 27/32 | 21/18 | C | | | | |
| Kobe | 20/24 | 12/7 | C | | | | |
| London | 14/21 | 9/5 | C | | | | |
| Lyons | 10/16 | 6/1 | C | | | | |
| Madrid | 13/25 | 7/4 | C | | | | |
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| Mumbai | 30/37 | 23/18 | C | | | | |
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| Osaka | 11/22 | 7/4 | C | | | | |
| Paris | 10/16 | 6/1 | C | | | | |
| Perth | 8/14 | 4/2 | C | | | | |
| Port of Spain | 24/31 | 18/11 | C | | | | |
| Reykjavik | 10/16 | 6/1 | C | | | | |
| Rome | 13/25 | 7/4 | C | | | | |
| San Francisco | 14/21 | 9/5 | C | | | | |
| Shanghai | 14/27 | 7/4 | C | | | | |
| Shenzhen | 24/31 | 18/11 | C | | | | |
| Singapore | 27/30 | 21/18 | C | | | | |
| Sourabaya | 30/37 | 23/18 | C | | | | |
| Taipei | 21/27 | 14/7 | C | | | | |
| Tokyo | 11/22 | 7/4 | C | | | | |
| Yokohama | 20/24 | 12/7 | C | | | | |

Forecast for Thursday through Saturday, as provided by AccuWeather.

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PEOPLE

FOR a time, the faxed love notes between the millionaire Bill Koch, 55, and Catherine de Castelbajac, 43, a former model, were so explicit that Koch's secretary suggested he set up a separate fax machine to receive them. But now Koch wants de Castelbajac out of his life and out of his Boston apartment. She, however, wants to stay and has pulled out all the stops in a court battle that has included readings of her fax messages. The issue facing a Boston court is whether de Castelbajac is a tenant at the condominium or a licensee and thus entitled to less protection. De Castelbajac won't really be out on the street if she loses the battle. She reportedly gets \$80,000 a year in alimony from her former husband, the fashion designer Jean-Charles de Castelbajac, who also reportedly gave her a lump sum of \$100,000 and an art collection.

Eldridge Cleaver says he's no longer a protest leader and no longer involved in the civil rights movement. Since he underwent brain surgery last year after being beaten and robbed while buying cocaine, he has lost his taste for drugs and revolution. The former Black Panther will continue lecturing at colleges with Bobby Seale, a fellow former Panther, and work as an advocate for the elderly and against domestic violence.

James Hewitt, the army captain who was Princess Diana's lover, says he isn't going to betray her by disclosing the contents of more than 100 letters she sent him. According to an article in The Sun newspaper written by Anna Pasternak, author of "Princess in Love," Hewitt said he "would have died for Diana." Pasternak said Hewitt, 37, reacted "with a mixture of shock, relief and then fear" when Diana admitted



ROYAL LINEUP — Queen Noor of Jordan, left, and Princess Caroline of Monaco at a gala dinner in Versailles at end of a UNESCO conference on children's rights.

their affair in a BBC interview last week. "What Hewitt really wants now is to move on emotionally and close the stormy chapter of his life," she wrote. She added that Hewitt would never have spoken out "had Diana not urged him to do so."

Anna Nicole Smith, 27, has fully recovered since being hospitalized for mixing prescription drugs. Tony Anagnostis, her publicist, said her reaction to the drugs was exacerbated by the early stages of pneumonia, he said. The former Guess? jeans model and Playboy centerfold was also hospitalized in

CelebSales of New York to promote a line of clothing. Roseanne, who designed the clothes, claimed they weren't being made to her standards. CelebSales has countersued for more than \$24 million.

Yoko Ono's latest works of art include bronze high-heeled pumps, a splintered bronze baseball cap and a bullet-shaped mirror — all splattered with red paint. Some gallerygoers in New York linked Ono's "Blood Objects from Family Album" exhibit to the murder of her husband, John Lennon, in 1980. But the artist said the nine sculptures were actually inspired by her birth. "All of us have a very bloody beginning," she said in The New Yorker magazine. "That is the first violence we experience."

Nicholas Romanov, 73, who bears the title prince of Russia and is considered by some people to be the heir to the throne should it ever be restored, has no desire to lead the country. "I am not at all in favor of a monarchy for all kinds of practical reasons," he said during a stay in New York, adding, "The Russian people are not educated in the principles of constitutional behavior."

Ann Landers has heard it all but even after 40 years of giving advice some of it still leaves her speechless. "I've had some letters that are very, very sad. And hopeless," she says in a profile in The New Yorker this week. But people's problems have pretty much stayed the same: "The basic problems are family problems. This is No. 1. It's always been that way." At 77, Landers says she has no intention of retiring. "I plan to die at the typewriter," she said. "Just keep over at the machine."

A Los Angeles court fight between CelebSales of New York, a large-size clothes maker, and Roseanne and her ex-husband Tom Arnold was delayed by something even bigger. A federal judge bumped the trial for a criminal proceeding and rescheduled it for Feb. 27. The actors are seeking \$750,000 of what they claim was a \$1 million deal with

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| Finland* | 8000-100-10 |
| France* | 19-0011 |
| Germany* | 0130-0010 |
| Gibraltar* | 8808 |

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| Portugal** | 05017-1-288 |
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| Spain* | 900-99-80-11 |
| Sweden* | 020-795-611 |
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